Palestine

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TO OUR READERS

Solidarity is an important weapon for helping the peoples of the world overcome oppression and injustice. The support and solidarity which the Palestinian people receive helps us to continue our just struggle for our just cause. We are grateful for the solidarity and support we get, but although we have many friends around the world, our enemies are still strong and formidable. They are better armed, better equipped, and much wealthier than we.

Nevertheless, though we may possess limited means, our determination and willingness to sacrifice is unlimited. The world forces of liberation, of which we are proud to be a part, are the emerging forces, and it is to us that the future belongs. The forces of oppression have had their day, and shall be consigned to the dustbin of history.

We thank all of our friends throughout the world for the letters of support and encouragement you have sent to us. Surely, we and other liberation movements will continue on the road to victory.

Palestine

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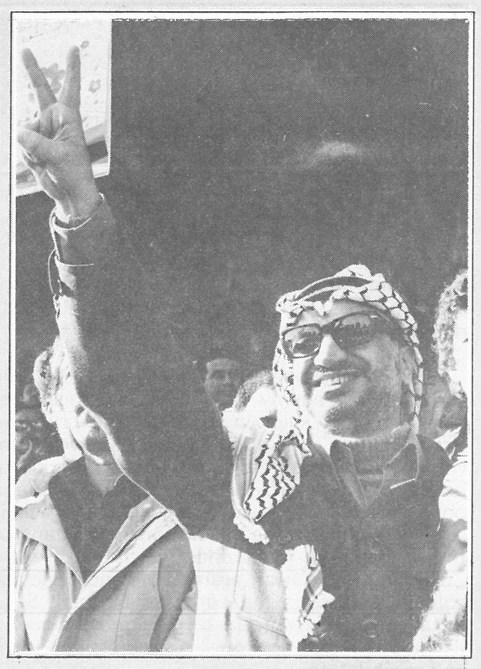
CHAIRMAN ARAFAT:

"1980, YEAR OF CHANGES IN THIS REGION"



In his annual message on the anniversary of the launching of the Palestinian Revolution fifteen years ago, on January 1, 1980 Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution, declared the following:

"Last year, the fifteenth year of our Revolution, has won a prominent place in the annals of history, for it was the year of the victory of the Iranian Revolution led by the Imam Khomeini; a year in which the Palestinian Revolution remained steadfast before a fierce war of attrition directed against it in South Lebanon for seven months, whose ashes are still burning, and in which the enemy used the most sophisticated and modern U.S. weapons; a year in which the Palestinian time-bomb exploded in the occupied territories while the Camp David triumvirate was planning the implementation of the self-rule scheme; a year in which the parties to the Camp David conspiracy were encircled by the Arab, Islamic, African and Non-Aligned States, and finally by the U.N. in the latest General Assembly resolution which condemned the Sadat-Israel treaty; a year of diplomatic victories in Europe, an arena which had always been the privileged domain of Zionism and Israel; a year of Palestinian-Lebanese unity.

"Today, as we enter our sixteenth year, we celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the launching of our armed Revolution, a Revolution which emerged from the long deadly silence that followed the 1948 tragedy. The first shot fired to break this silence imposed on us, proved that it was only the calm that precedes the storm. The Revolution of our people launched by Fateh on January 1, 1965 — more than any eloquence, and more profoundly than any number of revolutionary slogans — has brought about a basic change in the course of the conflict in our region, and has proven the strength of a people who believe in their goal and are guided by revolutionary values.

"The masses, with their honesty and awareness, led by their revolutionaries and martyrs, have provided the revolutionary fervour which enabled our people to face the years of dispersion, the hardships and bitterness of occupation, the fervour which revived the hope of our entire Arab Nation.

"Our Revolution is thriving as it enters its sixteenth year with our revolutionaries and our people, proud of our comrades-in-arms among the Lebanese people with whom we shared sufferings and hardships in the most dangerous link in the conspiracy against the Arab Nation. Today, we stand with them, struggling not only in defence of ourselves and of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples; but in the forward trenches of the Arab masses' confrontation to defend their dignity and honour, their existence, their civilisation and their future; and to safeguard freedom, democracy and honour in this region.

"Our alert and active revolutionaries and fighters who believe in the inevitability of vic-

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CHAIRMAN ARAFAT: "1980, YEAR OF CHANGES IN THIS REGION"

tory are a new generation: the generation of the Revolution; the generation of hope and victory; the generation of the people's armed revolution – Revolution which is unsubjugated and free from external domination and direction, and which is guided only by the will of its militant people.

"We must understand profoundly the true nature of the enemy we fight, and of his allies. And we must keep in mind all the objective circumstances surrounding our Revolution, which differentiate it from all contemporary revolutions, and provide proof of the value and political significance of the goals for which it struggles, and of the revolutionary content of these goals. We must understand that we are waging a fierce war against the most vicious colonial alliance in the world, led by the U.S.A., an alliance which possesses the most modern, dangerous and savage tools of suppression, terror and annihilation.

"In spite of this, our people in the occupied territories took a revolutionary stand and confronted the 'self-rule' travesty and the Camp David plot. They will continue to confront all forms which might emerge from the Camp David schemes and will foil them all with their will and determination. This is an example of the greatness of steadfastness and of the realisation of victories, the most important of which is the safeguarding of the revolutionary presence in confronting the fierce conspiracies. For after each of these confrontations, our Revolution emerges stronger military, politically and organisationally.

"Here I must stress the importance of safeguarding our Revolution before the huge challenges and the enemy. For this in itself is a major task within the higher strategic task, which consists of protecting the goal and leading our people towards it – this goal for which we must sacrifice everything. For in this situation of conflict, the Revolution is the people, the people are the Revolution and victory is the goal.

"Therefore it is our duty, as we weather the difficulties and do the impossible in these harsh conditions, to make the coming decade of the 1980's Palestinian years in every sense of the word, for this Revolution attains the goal which is imposed by its martyrs and its struggle.

"On this basis, it should be clear to all that there will be no peace, no stability, no security and no settlement in this region except through a Palestinian Peace, the peace of the revolutionaries of the Palestinian Revolution – I do not say Palestinian revolutionaries because this Revolution is an oasis for all the revolutionaries in the Arab Nation, and indeed in the whole world.

"Let it be clear that there will be no peace, stability or security except through the will of the Palestinian people and of the revolutionaries of the Palestinian Revolution: the peace of inalienable Palestinian national rights, of our independent state on Palestinian national soil, of the Arab Nation and its will; because Palestinian and Arab peace are intertwined in their roots, past and future, and constitute the real fusion of the Arab Nation's vital and historic interests. The Palestine cause is the central axis in the Arab Nation's struggle against the various challenges facing it, as it lives the birth of a new dawn in every sense, on the political, military, cultural, social and intellectual levels.

"Here one must stress the importance of this cohesion between our Arab Nation and the revolution of the Islamic Iranian people led by the Imam Khomeiny, and with all progressive and democratic forces in our region and its environs. Only thus can we form an effective force in the confrontation against imperialism, Zionism, colonialism, world monopolies, and against their looting the riches of this region and their attempts to subjugate it and make it an integral part of their economic order.

"The decision to unite must extend to include the friends, free men and the oppressed of the earth, particularly liberation movements in Asia, Africa, Latin America and every corner in which colonialism, oppression and slavery prevail.

"Moreover, inevitably, the confrontation taking place in our region must be based on the principle of strategic differentiation between friends and enemies. It is therefore imperative for us to consolidate the camp of friends and allies among the Islamic, African, Non-Aligned and Socialist states, so as to impose the will of our peoples on our enemies through revolutionary escalation and at all levels, and not by humiliating concessions, nor by offering the waters of the Nile to the Zionist enemy, nor by bribing America with a few barrels of oil, nor by offering world imperialism new treaties which further insult and shame our people.

- "PALESTINIAN PEACE INCLUDES ALL JEWS WHO WANT TO LIVE WITH US"
- "REVOLUTIONARY ESCALATION... NOT BRIBING ZIONISM WITH THE WATERS OF THE NILE, OR BRIBING THE U.S. WITH A FEW BARRELS OF OIL"
- "OUR GOAL: AN INDEPENDENT PROGRESSIVE STATE FOR OUR PEOPLE"
- "OUR REVOLUTION HAS BROUGHT ABOUT A BASIC CHANGE IN THE COURSE OF THE CONFLICT"
- "OUR REVOLUTION IS UNSUBJUGATED AND FREE OF EXTERNAL DOMINATION AND DIRECTION"

"This is the basic rule in the critical conflict which will shape the face of this region for generations to come, if we are to impose the will of our peoples after the withdrawal of Egypt under Sadat's leadership from the conflict, and its joining the ranks of the enemy. Now the whole weight falls upon us and our brothers in the North-Eastern front across the explosive confrontation lines.

"Brothers and comrades in arms, we are deeply aware that our road is long and hard and our enemies are numerous. We understand that our revolution is the essential trigger for changes in concepts in the Middle East region because it represents the core of the struggle and the axis of conflict with the imperialist enemy. In this battle, we rely on our inexhaustible asset: our people inside and outside the occupied territories who have been struggling for sixty years, since the Balfour Declaration.

"We do not fight for fighting's sake, but for victory and towards a goal. We struggle and fight for the future of our children and the existence and destiny of our people. Therefore, we fight for a just peace and an honourable life – not for any kind of peace or any sort of life. We struggle for a just peace in the land of peace, Palestine; and we reject the capitulation which they seek to impose on us.

"We do not fight Jews, but Zionism, which misguides and exploits even the Jews themselves. We stand against the Zionist movement and the Israeli military leaders who are leading the Jews towards the abyss, and who offer them nothing but constant bloodshed and wars. This movement has used the Jews as cannon-fodder for the ambitions of imperialism in the region which wants to keep them as obedient tools in its hands, to serve its interests in the region. Thus, on the basis of the humanistic and civilised precepts of our Revolution, we understand that a just peace in Palestine means a Palestinian peace which includes *all* Jews who live in Palestine and who accept to live with us without racism or discrimination, in equality, fraternity, and justice with Muslims, Christians and Jews on the soil of Palestine. I say to them furthermore that the Zionist dream will not benefit them. It is no more than a nightmare that can only lead to murder and destruction in this region in order to satisfy an insane ideology based on superiority and racial discrimination.

"The history of Palestine was and will remain a history of heroism and of martyrs, a history of earth mingled with blood. Therefore, there must be further fusion with this gun which made all these victories, and which turned our people from refugees into revolutionaries, from numbers in the charity registers of relief agencies into ranks of revolutionaries and free men.

"There must be further unity of this people in word and deed, in reality and in practice. There can be no revolution without a people and no revolution outside the framework of the masses. There must be further national unity in one melting pot: a people unified and united with its revolution inside and outside the occupied terrories. Our people must be united and firm within its popular and armed organisations, with its cadres and potentials, its fighters and militants; its youth and children, men and women. We need a single unified rank, free from protectorate, subjugation, containment and blackmail; constituting in its whole a single force under the banner of the PLO, which speaks in all our names and represents our national entity, on the road of liberation and return to Palestine, the land of love and peace, of revolution; the land of the independent progressive state, for our free people.

"As we enter the 1980s, may this 16th year be the year of fateful confrontation on the road towards the great goal; the year of changes in this region and in this Arab Nation so that we may all progress towards Palestine.

"We have together achieved the impossible on the day we brought our people back from nothingness and placed them on the political map of the region, where they became the most important factor in the Middle East equation. Now for a second time, we will do the impossible as we take up the fateful challenge on the road to Palestine, to Jerusalem, over whose towers and minarets we will raise our flags."

Palestinian and Lebanese national leaders at 15th anniversary celebrations in Beirut: (left to right) Abu Jihad, Inam Raad, Abu Iyad, Yasser Arafat, and George Habash.

15TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS

On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, celebrations took place around the world to express solidarity and support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people and their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, to regain their inalienable national rights.

In his speech delivered on this occasion at a massive popular rally held in the municipal stadium of Beirut on January 1, Chairman Arafat stressed that the Palestinian Revolution is the revolution of the oppressed in the world. Chairman Arafat reaffirmed the unity of the Palestinian Revolution with all liberation movements the world over. Chairman Arafat also praised the unity of the Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied territories and their heroic struggle and steadfastness in the face of rascist Zionist oppression, using all the means available to them.

On this occasion Chairman Arafat received hundreds of congratulatory cables from the heads of friendly states, Arab and international organizations, and Palestinian popular organizations, which all confirmed the Palestinian people's national rights, primarily the right to return, the right of self-determination, and the right of establishing an independent Palestinian state on Palestinian soil.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

As we go to press, among many others too numerous to mention here (but nonetheless appreciated), the PLO received messages from:

The President of the Popular Democratic Republic of Korea, Kim IL Sung.
The Secretary General of the Afro-Asian People's Organization
The General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and President of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker
The President of Tunisia, Habib Bourgiba, and Tunisian Prime Minister Hadi Nuouira
The Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Pham Van Dong
The General Secretary of the Cuban Communist Party and the President of the State Council, Fidel Castro
The President of the Congolese Republic
The Vice-President of the Supreme Soviet Council, Mikhail Saronov
The former Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit
The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party and Head of the Presidential Council, Abdel Fattah Ismail
The Deputy Head of the Presidential Council of the Popular Democratic Republic of Yemen, Ali Nasser Muhammad
The General Secretary of the French Communist Party, George Marchais
The Secretary General of the Islamic Conference Organization, Habib al-Shatti
The Secretary General of the Arab League, Shadli al-Qlibi
The President of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola and President of the People's Democratic Republic of Angola, Edward de Santus
The President of the Republic of Djibouti, Hassan Golid
The President of Sri Lanka
The President of Kampuchea, Heng Samrin
The Committee of Soviet Women
The President of the Belgian-Palestinian Association
The Executive Secretariat of the Popular Unity in Chile
The President of the Franco-Arab Friendship Association
The Palestine Solidarity Committee in Greece
The Cuban-Palestinian Friendship Society
The Executive Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman
The Central Committee of the Peronist Movement, Montoneros
The Mujahideen of the Iranian People and the Iranian Association of Co-operation With Palestine
The Organization for the Liberation of the Iranian Working Class
The International Federation of Arab Workers' Unions
The Association of Petroleum Workers in Ahwaz (Iran) and the Ahwaz Solidarity Committee
The Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in Mongolia
The Palestine Action in Perth, Austrialia
The Lebanese Communist Party
The Communist Action Organization in Lebanon
The Independent Nasserite Movement, Murabitun
The Jordanian Communist Party
The Iraqi Communist Party
The Laborers' League
The Baath Arab Socialist Organization in Lebanon
The Nasserite Organization in Lebanon, Nasser Forces
The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party
The Arab and Progressive Liberation Movements in Aden
The Arab Socialist Union in Lebanon
The Secretariat General of the General Union of Workers in Jordan

"PALESTINE" EDITORIAL:

THE YEAR OF POLITICAL SUCCESSES

The 15th year of the Palestinian Revolution marked a turning in the international attitude towards the Palestinian cause. Palestine is no longer isolated and the Palestinians are no longer outcasts. In the international arena the PLO was able to score significant political gains. A parallel can be drawn to the year 1974, when PLO Chairman Arafat was invited to deliver his historic speech at the UN General Assembly in New York.

Inspite of the conspiracy of the Lebanese civil war which lasted almost two years (1975 and 1976), the Palestinian Revolution continued its steadfast march towards freedom and independence. In 1978, Israeli forces invaded southern Lebanon in order to liquidate the Palestinian forces – but in vain. The Palestinian Resistance to the Israeli invasion strengthened the PLO politically and militarily. The 1979 Israeli war of attrition, which lasted almost 6 months (from April to September, 1979) against southern Lebanese villages and Palestinian refugee camps, inflicted heavy losses against civilians, but caused little damage to Palestinian military forces. The world is getting fed up with Israeli arrogance and intransigence. Every new Israeli act of aggression leads automatically to increased sympathy for the PLO and the Palestinian people.

The world has changed since World War II. The balance of forces after World War II which led to the creation of the state of Israel in Palestine has been far and away shaken. The U.S. which came out of World War II as the strongest military, economic and financial power, has been struck by a high rate of inflation and social disease. The dollar has been devaluated in relation to gold. An ounce of gold was fixed in Bretton Woods in 1944 at $34. Lately it has climbed to over $800 an ounce. There is a mounting transfer of gold and dollars from the U.S. to Western Europe, Japan and the Middle East.

The member states in the UN have increased due to the liberation of former colonies. Those newly independent states who strive to maintain their non-alignment between the two blocs now form the largest number of states in the UN. The newly independent states which have suffered from the colonialist yoke sympathize directly with the anti-colonialist struggle of the Palestinian people. The Soviet Union and the socialist camp became supporters of the Palestine cause. The western world led by the U.S. can no longer control the world arena as it did after World War II. China, the most populated country in the world and which has emerged as a Third World power, is a traditional supporter of the Palestinian struggle.

Western Europe is emerging as an independent economic power. It can no longer adopt a tail-end policy to the U.S. Due to devaluation of the dollar, West Europeans are forming an economic and financial community. They are trying to find a new currency in order to protect their far more healthier economies. Additionally, the West Europeans have diverging interests from the U.S. They cannot always buy the deflated stocks of dollars from the financial world markets to stop the drainage of the sick dollar.

Western Europe and the Middle East are closer together than the U.S. and the Middle East. The security of Western Europe can be more affected by any outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East than the U.S. This geo-political situation has gained more importance due to high oil reserves located in the Middle East. Japan is up to 90% dependent on Middle Eastern oil. Western Europe is approximately 70% dependent on Middle Eastern oil. Those two main economic blocs can no longer blindly follow a U.S. adventurist policy in the Middle East which is basically hostile to the interests of Middle Eastern nations. They have to go their own way in order to assure their flow of oil and access to the rich markets of the region.

Spoiled Israel is going to spoil U.S. and West European interests in the region. Israel, blinded by arrogance due to the incessant dollar and arms flow from the U.S., is spoiling even the interests of its allies in the Middle East. To a great extent, the Camp David agreement consists of Israeli doctrines. It cannot be accepted by the Arabs. They have been able to alienate Sadat from the Arab ranks, but they have failed to impose their dictates on the region. In the Baghdad and Tunis Arab Summit Conferences, the

THE YEAR OF POLITICAL SUCCESSES

Arabs gave a blunt "no" to Camp David and the separate peace treaty between Sadat and Israel. The Camp David accord is now at an impasse.

Sadat and Israel hoped to split the Palestinians between those living inside and those living outside the occupied territories. They hoped to alienate the PLO and to find a substitute leadership for the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. The West Bankers and Gazans have refused the proposed "self-administration" project and stick to the PLO as the only political body which can represent the Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied territories. The Israeli interpretation of the "self-rule" project means continued occupation, continued building of settlements, land confiscation, control of the water resources, etc. It means self-administration for the people, but not for the land. Inspite of the continuous efforts of the U.S., through special envoys like Robert Strauss, Sadat and the Israelis couldn't find any Palestinian to join the "self-rule" project. How could someone accept becoming a slave — even of the Israelis?

With the continued land confiscation, the Israelis intend to create new realities in the West Bank and Gaza and to try and force Palestinian Arabs to emigrate from their homeland. Their practices in the occupied territories and their mentality which is reflected in the daily building of settlements, collective punishments, collective imprisonment, deportation, torture, destruction of houses, etc. — show that the Camp David accord is nothing but a hoax. Neither Palestinians nor any Arab can accept such fake projects.

The Middle East remains explosive and a hot point. The Camp David accord was not able to defuse the tension in the area.

The Israelis and the U.S. are still hoping to get rid of the PLO because it hampers all their conspiratorial projects in the region. It was Kissinger who master-minded the Lebanese civil war against the PLO. It was Brzezinski who said "bye, bye PLO" shortly before the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon in March, 1978. Finally, the war of attrition launched by the Israelis from April to September against the PLO in southern Lebanon was carried out with U.S. weapons. All those attempts to liquidate the PLO failed and instead the PLO grew stronger and more influential.

The Iranian Revolution has shaken the balance of forces in the region. The fall of the Shah and the take-over by the Iranian masses, led by Ayatollah Khomeini, disturbed the U.S. strategy in the region. The enormous military arsenal of the Shah and Iranian oil are no longer under U.S. control. The Iranian Revolution has strengthened the Palestinian Revolution and can be considered as its strategic depth, as Chairman Arafat has often stated. The Iranian Revolution has shown the U.S. that it cannot roam the region at will as was the case 5 or 10 years ago. The Iranian Revolution is a serious blow to U.S. interests and to Israel in the region.

Western Europeans, in order to act in their own best interests, must deal in a fair way with Middle Eastern nations. They cannot continue with their hostile policy towards the Arabs and Palestinians if they want to buy Arab or Iranian oil and to market their goods and products in the Arab and Iranian markets. Apart from their sense of justice and morality which should be on the side of oppressed Palestinians, their own interests imply that they must build good relations with the Arabs and Iranians.

For the last 30 years the West Europeans have adopted a hostile policy towards the Palestinian cause. Western public opinion was only receptive to Israeli arguments and Israeli interpretations. Palestinians who were defending their cause and resisting Israeli occupation were labelled as "terrorists" and blood-thirsty killers. West Europeans justified their pro-Israeli bias totally in the frame of reference to Nazi crimes against the Jews in Europe. But at the same time they are justifying Israeli crimes against the Palestinians. But the world has changed. Public opinion in the West is becoming more and more conscious of Israeli crimes and attrocities. With 13 years of additional occupation since the June war of 1967, Israeli expansion becomes increasingly exposed.

The West European opening towards the PLO, though it comes late, is but the result of all the previously-mentioned factors. Definitely a tribute should be paid to Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky who found the courage to talk to the PLO and invited Chairman Arafat to visit Vienna. It is well-known that Kreisky has had to endure many attacks through Zionist propaganda. But Zionist propaganda attacks cannot stop the wheel of history. Tribute should be paid to Willy Brandt, the West German leader and to the Spanish and Portuguese leadership who have invited Chairman Arafat to visit their countries. Tribute should be paid to all those who contribute to a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

The world has changed. The Zionists and their American sponsors cannot stop the train which is passing them by.

PALESTINE NOTES

JAPAN RECOGNIZES PALESTINIAN RIGHTS

Japanese Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira declared on December 1 in the Japanese parliament that the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people should include their right to establish an independent state on their soil. The Premier added that these rights should be recognised and respected according to the U.N. Charter, especially the right to self-determination, and he called for the development of a dialogue between Japan and the PLO. The Japanese stand concerning the Palestinian issue has been expressed in the U.N., but this is the first time that the Japanese Premier has spoken clearly in Parliament of his country's support for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

In a proposal drawn up by the Japanese ambassadors to the Middle and Near East countries, and revealed by Foreign Ministry sources in Tokyo, the Japanese ambassadors have urged their government to contact the PLO and recognize it as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The ambassadors said in their proposal that peace cannot be achieved without the participation of the Palestinian people. The Foreign Ministry sources said that the Ambassadors and Charges d'Affaires in 18 capitals in the region had called on the Japanese government to exert all efforts to help achieve peace in the Middle East on the basis of respect of the Palestinian people's rights.

On December 29, Chairman Arafat in Beirut received a Japanese Parliamentary Delegation with whom he reviewed the current situation in the Arab region, developments of Palestinian-Japanese relations and means to consolidate them to serve the interests of the two peoples.

KADDOUMI MEETS BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE MINISTER

Farouk Kaddoumi, Head of the PLO Political Department, met on December 4, with the Privy Seal, Sir Ian Gilmour, spokesman for the British Foreign Minister in the House of Commons. The meeting, the first of its kind between Kaddoumi and a British Foreign Office Minister, took place on request of Sir Ian. Also attending the meeting were Mr. Roger Tomkys, Head of the Near East and North Africa Department at the Foreign Office, and Mr. J.C. Moberly, Superintending Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office Middle East Department. Representing the PLO were Khaled al-Hassan and Nabil Ramlawi, PLO representative in London.

BULGARIAN DELEGATION VISITS LEBANON AND PLO

Chairman Yasser Arafat met on December 8 with a delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party, headed by the Secretary of the Party's Central Committee. The Bulgarian delegation included the Vice-President of the International Affairs Department of the Party's Central Committee, and the head of the Arab Affairs Department of the Party. The Bulgarian delegation also visited South Lebanon, where they inspected the damage caused by the Israeli bombardment of Nabatiyeh. The Bulgarian delegation confirmed their country's firm stand with the Palestinian and the Arab cause in their confrontation with the Camp David accords and parties behind them.

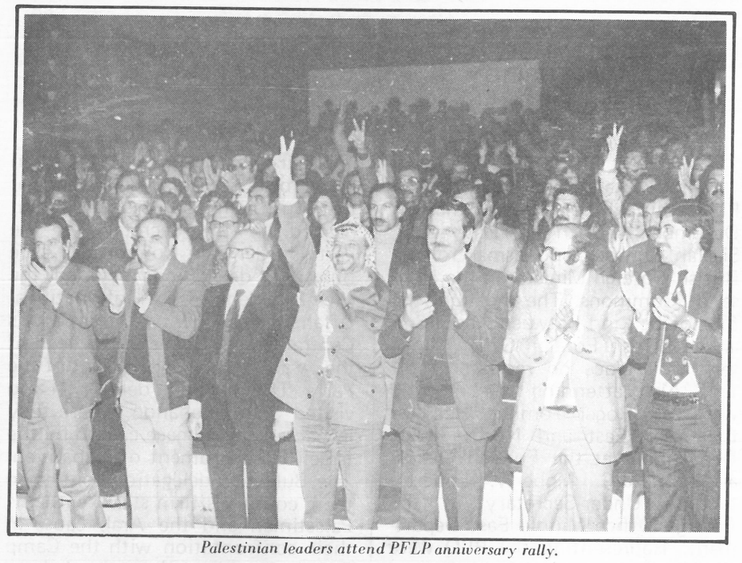
BRITAIN MUST RECOGNIZE THE PLO!

Progressive organizations, members of the British Parliament, trade union activists and independent personalities have joined a campaign to urge the British government to recognize the PLO and the national rights of the Palestinian people. The British government bears an historic responsibility for the ordeal of the Palestinian people. The campaign has issued public appeals and urged participants to send protest letters to the British government. For example, the British newspaper "News Line" urged its readers to join the campaign by stating:

"Successive British governments bear historic culpability for the present-day Middle East crisis. They conspired against the Palestinian people to allow Zionist imperialism to steal Arab land, terrorise people from their homes, and to kill, torture and jail those who resisted. There are now 30,000 Palestinian political prisoners in Israel. Their only 'crime' is that they opposed the policy of annexation and occupation of the Zionists.

"It is a fact of international affairs that there can be no peace in the Middle East without the Palestinian people establishing their own homeland, and no solution without recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate leadership of the Palestinian people. We urge you to pass resolutions in your trade union branch, trades council, shop stewards' committees and ward Labour Party demanding that the Tory government recognises the PLO and starts negotiations based on the just demands of the Palestinian people."

PALESTINE NOTES



Palestinian leaders attend PFLP anniversary rally.

PALESTINIAN UNITY STRESSED AT P.F.L.P. RALLY

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine on December 6 organized a popular rally at the Beirut Arab University on the occasion of the P.F.L.P.'s 12th anniversary. The rally was attended by a number of leaders of the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement. The rally was addressed by Fateh Central Committee members Abu Iyyad, Lebanese Communist Party leader George Haoui and P.F.L.P. General Secretary George Habash. Abu Iyyad in his speech confirmed the principles of national unity among the Palestinians. He said that only Palestinian unity can change the Arab world and liberate Palestine through all possible means including armed struggle. He also underlined the need of keeping the Palestinian will free from all sorts of domination including that by Arab regimes.

George Habash began his speech by saluting the martyrs of the Palestinian Revolution, the Lebanese National Movement, and all the forces of freedom and progress in the world. He also saluted the militants detained in Israeli prisons and the prisons of some Arab regimes. Habash warned against the imperialist conspiracy which is trying to confront all Arab progressive forces and the Socialist countries through the Camp David Alliance. Habash described this alliance as a part of the imperialist strategy which still dreams of striking the Socialist countries or at least of creating problems for them, and at striking the Iranian Revolution, and other national liberation movements in the region.

ARAFAT RECEIVES SOVIET DELEGATION

Chairman Yasser Arafat received a visiting Soviet delegation on December 11. The delegation was led by Karen Brutants, Vice-President of the International Affairs Section of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, and accompanied by Alexander Soldatov, the Soviet Ambassador to Lebanon. On the Palestinian side were also present Farouk Kaddoumi, the head of the PLO Political Department, and a number of Palestinian officials, including George Habash, General Secretary of the P.F.L.P. During the meeting, views were exchanged on various Palestinian, Arab and international issues which concerned both parties. The delegation presented a gift to Chairman Yasser Arafat.

SWISS-PALESTINE ASSOCIATION CALLS FOR PLO RECOGNITION

The Swiss-Palestine Association on December 17 presented a petition to the Swiss Federal Government calling for

1 – The recognition by the Federal Council of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

2 – A declaration in which the PLO is recognised as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

3 – The opening of the official PLO information office in Switzerland.

4 – Direct and official Swiss aid to the Palestinian Red Crescent Society. This petition, which was first circulated in the summer of 1979, carries 6000 signatures. Following the presentation of the petition, the Swiss-Palestine Association organized a press conference in Bern in which the PLO representative in Geneva. Daoud Barakat, participated.

ARAFAT RECEIVES WEST GERMAN DELEGATION

Chairman Yasser Arafat received a Parliamentary delegation from the Federal Republic of Germany on December 20. The delegation was headed by the President of the German-Arab Friendship Association and Deputy in the FRG's Bundestag, Mrs. Lenelotte von Bothmer. The meeting focused on current developments and means to develop the relations between the Palestinian people and the people of the FRG. The delegation, which visited the area on the invitation of the PLO, toured South Lebanon, where they inspected Tyre and the Rashidiyeh and Burj al-Shamali refugee camps, and witnessed the results of the Israeli aggressions. The delegation also visited several of the Palestinian Revolution's institutions, including SAMED, the School for the Orphans of Tal al-Za'atar and the Palestinian Red Crescent Society.

At the end of the visit, Mrs. von Bothmer, who is also a member of the West European Parliament, called on all the states of the EEC to adopt a positive stand towards the Palestine cause and the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish their independent state on their national soil.

PLO DELEGATION PARTICIPATES IN SYRIAN BAATH CONGRESS

On December 21, Chairman Arafat met with Syrian President Hafez al-Assad in Damascus. Representing the Palestinian side were PLO Executive Committee members Muhammad Zuhdi al-Nashashibi, Abdel Muhsin Abu Maizar and Talal Naji, and Fateh Central Committee members Abu Iyyad, Abu Jihad, Abu Mazen, and Abu Maher. The meeting was also attended by Abdel-Halim Khaddam, Syrian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The meeting discussed the latest Arab and international political developments, especially the developments of the Palestine cause. The work of the Arab follow-up committee on South Lebanon and the Syrian endeavours to normalize Libyan-PLO relations were also discussed.

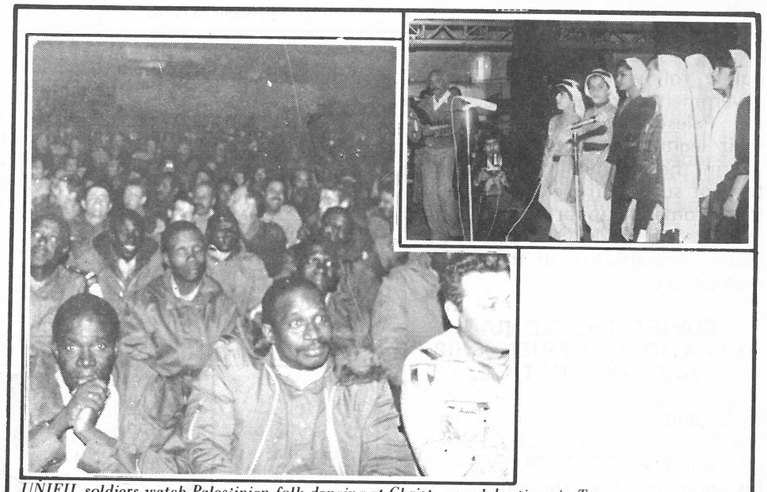
The two parties were in perfect agreement on all matters discussed. On the next day Yasser Arafat participated in the opening of the Seventh Congress of the Arab Beath Party in Damascus and delivered a speech, pointing out that the Arab region will resist and fight until victory.

PALESTINIAN CHILDREN'S WEEK IN KUWAIT

The General Union of Palestinian Women, Kuwait branch, in the last week of December 1979, celebrated the Palestinian Children's Week on the occasion of the International Year of the Child. A group of Ashbal and Zahrat of the Dar Atfal al-Samud displayed a number of posters of Palestinian popular art. During the week, two exhibitions were held in the PLO office in Kuwait, displaying children's drawings and handicrafts.

NATIVE AMERICAN DELEGATION VISITS PLO

A delegation of native Americans comprising eighteen representatives of various native American tribes in the U.S.A., who are also members of the American Indian Movement, arrived in Beirut on December 26 to participate in the celebrations of the fifteenth anniversary of the Palestinian Revolu-



UNIFIL soldiers watch Palestinian folk dancing at Christmas celebrations in Tyre.

CHRISTMAS CELEBRATION FOR U.N. FORCES

The leadership of the Joint Forces of the PLO and the Lebanese National Movement held a Christmas celebration on December 23, 1979 in Tyre for the United Nations Interim Forces in Lebanon (UNIFIL). The celebration opened with the Palestinian and Lebanese national anthems, and a playing of the international anthem, followed by some Palestinian folk dancing. The celebration was attended by several cadres of the Palestinian Revolution and the LNM and several officers and soldiers of UNIFIL.

PALESTINE NOTES

tion. The leader of the delegation declared that the native Americans support the PLO, and the just struggle of the Palestinian people. He stressed the militant relations between the two peoples. The delegation also visited the Samed institutions where they met with Director Abu al-Ala'.

LAOS TURNS PLO OFFICE INTO EMBASSY

The Foreign Ministry of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos at the end of December 1979 decided to raise the diplomatic representation of the PLO office in Laos to that of an Embassy. The Foreign Ministry sent an official statement regarding this change to all its embassies and offices at the U.N.

The resolution of the Laos Republic follows the support of its government for the just struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their legitimate rights, its firm belief in the inevitability of the victory of such a struggle, and finally its diplomatic support for the achivements of the PLO as sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

SOVIET - PALESTINIAN RELATIONS OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION

Khaled al-Fahoum, President of the Palestinian National Congress, on December 31, 1979, expressed his appreciation of the solidarity of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries with the Palestinian people's struggle. Al-Fahoum spoke on return from the latest visit of the delegation of the National Congress to the Soviet Union, pointing out that this is the first visit to be undertaken on the invitation of the Parliamentary body of the Supreme Soviet, which is a further proof of the continued deepening of relations of friendship and cooperation.

Al-Fahoum affirmed that the talks revealed that the two parties share identical points of view on the regional and international situation as the two parties stand in one front against the U.S. attempts to aggravate these situations.

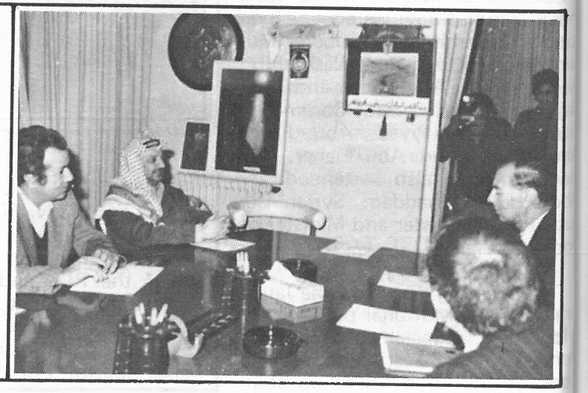
Abu Mazen, member of the Fateh Central Committee, affirmed in an interview with the Soviet news agency "Tass" on December 28, that the friendly relations between the Palestinian people and the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Socialist states are of a strategic character.

ARAFAT MEETS FORMER BELGIAN PREMIER TINDEMANS

Chairman Arafat, on January 4, met with Mr. Leo Tindemans, former Prime Minister of Belgium and President of the Christian Socialist Party, and the delegation accompanying him. The meeting, which was also attended by Farouk Kaddoumi, Head of the PLO Political Department, was conducted in a cordial atmosphere and reviewed the situation in the Middle East and the latest developments of the Palestine cause. During the talks the Palestinian side stressed the following:

1. The Palestine cause is the core of the Middle East conflict, and peace cannot be achieved without Israeli withdrawal from all Arab and Palestinian occupied territories, and the realisation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to return, to self-determination and to establish an independent state on the basis of the U.N. resolutions and charter. 2. Increasing European concern and the recognition of the PLO and Palestinian inalienable national rights are essential in speeding up the establishment of a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. 3. The PLO confirms its rejection of separate solutions, particularly the so-called 'self-rule', which contradict U.N. resolutions.

Both sides asserted the importance of the Arab-European dialogue, and stressed that no just and overall peace can be achieved in the world without respecting the principles that prohibit the forcible confiscation of land from sovereign states. The two sides also stressed their condemnation of any violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Convention, and confirmed their respect for Lebanon's sovereignty and independence as well as the unity of its land and people.



Chairman Arafat and Farouk Kaddoumi meet with former Belgium Prime Minister Tindemans

Farouk Kaddoumi at press conference

U.S. TO HAND PALESTINIAN OVER TO ISRAELI TORTURE

The Zionist government in Israel has pressured U.S. authorities to extradite a 20-year-old West Bank Palestinian, Ziyad Abu Eain. A hearing on the matter ended on December 18 in a U.S. District Court in Illinois with the court bowing to Zionist contentions and ordering Ziyad Abu Eain's extradition. Defense attorneys have vowed to appeal the case to a higher court and continue attempts at halting the extradition.

If extradited, Ziyad Abu Eain will face trial in an Israeli kangaroo military court on charges of bombing a marketplace in Tiberias last May. During the extradition hearing, the Israeli government offered the U.S. prosecuting attorney an alleged confession written in Hebrew, signed by another Palestinian political prisoner, and implicating Ziyad Abu Eain as an accomplice in the Tiberias operation. Progressive Israeli attorney, Lea Tsemel, who represents Jamal Yasin, the supposed informant who signed the confession, has revealed that Jamal Yasin signed the Hebrew statement after being tortured and has since repudiated it twice. Ziyad Abu Eain, for his part, was visiting relatives in the U.S. when he was interrogated by the FBI and then arrested. The FBI and Israeli intelligence have long cooperated in harrassing Palestinian militants in the U.S. and exchanging information for the kangaroo trials in Israel. In two recent cases of American citizens tried before Israeli courts on charges of affiliation with Palestinian organizations (which is not a punishable crime in the U.S.), the FBI supplied major information for the Israeli prosecutors. The two, Sami Esmail and Terre Fleener, were both finally released this year from Israeli prisons and both testified against Ziyad Abu Eain's extradition at his court hearing.

The defense contention in the case was that even if Ziyad Abu Eain was responsible for the Tiberias operation(later repudiated), Eain should be granted political asylum in the later repudiated), Eain should be granted political asylum in the United State as the Palestinian people led by the PLO are in a state of war with Israel and the bombing in Tiberias was a justified act of resistance against the brutal Zionist occupation.

PALESTINIAN MILITANT TORTURED TO DEATH

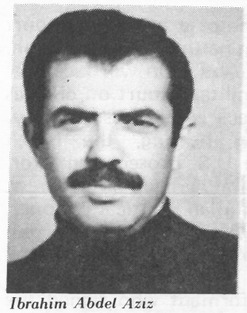
Israeli authorities on December 26 delivered the body of Yasser Abdel Razzaq Fa'our, who died after being subjected to brutal torture at the hands of the Israeli jailers of Beersheba prison.

Several cadres of the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement were present when the body was handed over at the Lebanese-Israeli borders to Red Cross officials. Several foreign and local correspondents were also present along with a large number of Palestinian and Lebanese citizens. Yasser Fa'our was born in Aleppo in 1950. His family is from the Israeli occupied village of Tarshiha in northern Palestine. Fa'our joined Fateh in 1968, and participated in several commando operations in the occupied territories. He was arrested in April 1970 after a commando operation in Kafr Hamam. His father visited him in prison in 1978, and died during the visit.

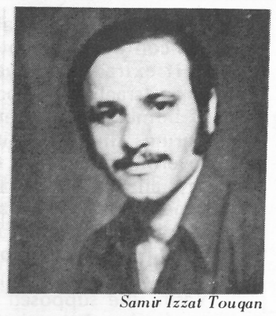
On December 27, Palestinian and Lebanese masses escorted the body of Fa'our to the Martyrs' Cemetry in Beirut, where a unit of the Palestinian Armed Struggle saluted the martyr by firing twenty-one shots.

PLO PROTESTS TO UN

On December 28, Farouk Kaddoumi, Head of the PLO Political Department, denounced the U.S. decision to extradite Ziyad Abu Eain and announced that the PLO would refer the matter to the UN. Kaddoumi said that the PLO considers the extradition of Abu Eain a violation of international charters and conventions which recognise the right of peoples to struggle for the liberation of their lands. He added that the PLO considers the U.S. Administration responsible for all the consequences of Abu Eain's extradition and that the PLO considers this action clear proof that the U.S. is still determined to stand against the national aspirations of the Palestinian people, and is continuing to act in such a way as does not serve the cause of peace and stability in the Arab region.



Ibrahim Abdel Aziz



Samir Izzat Touqan

ISRAELI TERROR AGENTS MURDER TWO PLO CADRES

On December 15, 1979, Israeli secret service agents assassinated two Palestinian militants in Nicosia near the PLO office. Fateh and the General Command of the Assifa Forces announced the deaths of the two martyrs.

A PLO Spokesman declared that the Security Advisor to the Israeli Premier in charge of pursuing Palestinian commandos is directly responsible for the assassination of the two martyrs. He was given this responsibility following the Knesset's decision at the beginning of 1979 to annihilate the leaders and cadres of the PLO in every part of the world. This terrorist has sent numerous units of trained killers to a number of states to pursue the Palestinian revolution's representatives and cadres.

Martyr Ibrahim Abdel Aziz (Abu Safwat) was one of those responsible for the occupied territories office. He was born in 1937 in Beit Ummar in the Hebron region, received his elementary and preparatory education in Hebron, and held an M.A. degree in History. He joined Fateh in 1963, and was married with four sons.

Samir Izzat Touqan was born in Nablus in 1948, where he received his elementary and secondary education and continued his university education in Pakistan. He joined the revolution as a fighter, in 1967, took part in military operations inside the occupied territories and participated in numerous military training courses in the Soviet Union.

On December 17, Cypriot President Kyprianou and the Cypriot Minister of Foreign Affairs visited the PLO office in Nicosia to offer condolences on the martyrdom of the two Palestinian militants and to express solidarity with the Palestinian people's struggle. President Kyprianou also expressed his denunciation of the crime in an earlier phone call to Chairman Arafat and declared that those who committed it are enemies of the Palestinian cause and the Cypriot people as well.

The Speaker of the House of Parliament, the Mayor of Nicosia and the Cypriot Minister of Justice also visited the PLO office and expressed their condolences and solidarity with the Palestinian people. The Ambassadors and heads of Arab and friendly diplomatic missions, as well as Cypriot political personalities, including Dr. Lissaridis, head of the Cypriot Socialist Party, and the Secretary-General of the Cypriot Communist Party, visited the PLO office to offer condolences.

The Cypriot democratic and nationalist forces and parties held a popular rally in Nicosia on December 17, in memory of Abu Safwat and Samir Touqan. Representatives of the Cypriot Democratic Party and the Cypriot Communist Party both condemned the murder of the martyrs who were assassinated by Zionist intelligence agents in Cyprus. Dr. Lissaridis, President of the Cypriot Socialist Party, in turn condemned the murder, confirmed the support of the Cypriot people for the Palestinian struggle under the PLO's leadership and demanded the closure of the Israeli embassy in Nicosia. After the rally, a huge demonstration headed to the Israeli embassy and demanded the extradition of the murderers and the closing of the Zionist spy center in Cyprus.

A memorial rally was held at the Beirut Arab University on December 18 for the two martyrs. The rally was attended by Chairman Yasser Arafat, the leaders of the Lebanese National Movement and the leaders of the Palestinian Revolution. Chairman Arafat gave the main speech, in which he asserted that for fifteen years, Palestinian blood has been shed, and will continue to be shed until the banners proclaiming the victory of the revolution are raised over Jerusalem, Beersheba, Haifa and Tel Aviv. He went on: "When the Palestinian Revolution was launched, we said that this was to be a popular and a long revolution. With this in mind, we are training our Ashbal in the full knowledge that this is a Revolution and not a picnic, a Revolution of heroes and martyrs."

Chairman Arafat also has directed Zuhdi al Terzi, the PLO representative in the UN, to submit a protest memorandum to UN Secretary General Dr. Kurt Waldheim concerning the crime committed by Israeli intelligence agents against the two Palestinian militants, Ibrahim Baraghith and Samir Touqan.

(For the violent demonstration in occupied Palestine protesting the latest crimes of the Israeli secret service see under "Occupation Diary" in the current issue).

U.S. SEARCHES FOR MILITARY BASES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

U.N. AND WORLD PUBLIC DENOUNCE CAMP DAVID

At the end of 1979, world criticism of the separate Camp David accords is still on the increase. Even in Western Europe and Japan reservations and disquiet concerning the true nature of this U.S.-sponsored "peace" are mounting. The UN General Assembly has again denounced the Camp David accords and the U.S.-Egyptian-Israeli treaty. In a resolution adopted on December 7, the UN General Assembly urgently called for the convening of a conference sponsored by the UN and headed by the Soviet Union and the USA, and with the participation of all concerned parties, including the Palestinians. The resolution was proposed by a group of non-aligned states and adopted by 102 votes for, 17 against and 20 abstaining. The resolution affirmed that unless Israel withdraws from all the occupied Arab territories, and unless the Palestinian people achieve their legitimate national rights, according to the UN General Assembly resolution (3236) adopted on 22 November 1974, then no just, comprehensive solution can be implemented in the Middle East.

BEGIN: NO WITHDRAWAL, NO PALESTINE

Israeli Prime Minister Begin, speaking to soldiers in occupied Jerusalem on December 27, said: "Everyone makes declarations, but we are here, so when we say there will be no Palestinian State, that is decisive." Begin added that "no part of the land is exempt from Jewish settlement."

111 UN STATES CONDEMN ISRAELI OCCUPATION

The UN General Assembly on December 12 condemned the Israeli authorities' practices in the occupied territories and stressed the need to apply the stipulation of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilians in time of war. The General Assembly denounced the continuous Israeli violations of the Geneva Convention, and said that they constituted a dangerous precedent. The resolution, which was adopted by 111 votes for, two against, and 31 abstaining, affirmed that the Israeli authorities should desist from all measures which change the demographic and structural character of the occupied territories, especially Jerusalem. The resolution also denounced the establishment of Israeli settlements and called for their removal. It further denounced the policy of land confiscation, judaization, collective punishment, the mistreatment and torture of prisoners, the plundering of archaeological ruins and cultural monuments and the illegal exploitation of the natural resources of the occupied territories. The second resolution of the session, approved by 140 votes to one, with 4 abstentions, called on all parties that signed the Geneva Convention to exert every effort to see that Israel respects this agreement inside the occupied territories.

SADAT LAUDS HIS "GREAT COUSIN"

Egyptian President Sadat, in an interview published in the Israeli newspaper "al-Hamish-

U.S. SEARCHES FOR MILITARY BASES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

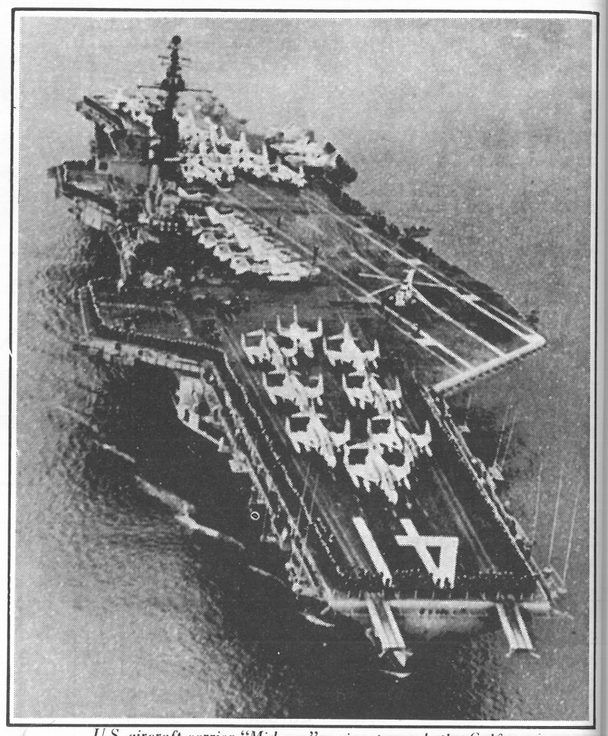
mar" on December 28, praised Israeli Prime Minister Begin for his statemanship. Sadat said, "Prime Minister Begin is a great politician who follows a correct and honest policy, fulfilling all the obligations he takes upon himself." Sadat added, "During our conversation I felt that when we call each other cousins it is not just an empty expression."

ISRAELI "AUTONOMY" PLAN: $380 MILLION FOR MORE SETTLEMENTS

The Israeli Government and the World Zionist Organisation on December 26 approved plans at a meeting in Jerusalem to more than double the Jewish population of the occupied West Bank to over 36,000 in the next 18 months. The settlement plan calls for 6,200 housing units to be built at the cost of 10 billion Israeli pounds (380 million dollars). The current settlement budget is 85 million dollars, less than a third of the sum demanded for next year. The plan has been disclosed at a time when Israel is asking the U.S. for 3.4 billion dollars in military and economic aid. As the Chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, Moshe Arens, explained: "Israel cannot bear the intolerable economic burden under the terms of the peace treaty with Egypt."

MORE U.S. "AID" FOR ISRAELI ARMS AND SETTLEMENTS

Israeli Defence Minister Ezer Weizman visited the U.S. in late December to win a big increase in U.S. "aid". Weizman met U.S. officials, including President Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, and asked the U.S. Administration to increase its annual aid to 3.4 billion dollars during the fiscal year beginning October 1. The present U.S. military and economic aid to Israel is $1.8 billion a year. Observers point out that with the expected expansion of Zionist settlements in the 1967 Occupied territories, Israel needs more U.S. backing to maintain its expansionist policy. In return, Begin, Weizman and other Israeli officials have repeatedly offered the



U.S. aircraft carrier "Midway" cruises towards the Gulf.

U.S. Israeli assistance, facilities and military bases for any imperialist aggression the U.S. may plan against Iran or another country in the Middle East, especially in the Gulf.

U.S. IN SEARCH OF MILITARY BASES IN MIDDLE EAST

Ever since the emergence of the U.S.-Israeli-Sadat Camp David pact, the U.S. feverishly tried to expand its military intervention in and around the Middle East and the Indian Ocean. The "New York Times" on December 19 said that a U.S. Pentagon team had been sent to Saudi Arabia, Oman, Somalia and Kenya for talks with local leaders aimed at letting the American navy and air force use military bases there. It added that the mission was led by Robert J. Murray, a Deputy Assistant Defense Secretary for international security affairs. It also added that the US wanted to work out private understandings rather than classical formal agreements.

U.S. TROOPS TRAINED FOR MIDDLE EAST ADVENTURES

The U.S. newspaper the "San Francisco Examiner" reported on December 27, 1979 that the Pentagon is preparing U.S. armed forces for military action in the Middle East. U.S. military exercises are taking place in an area resembling the condition in Middle Eastern regions. The paper quotes a Pentagon representative as saying "the Mohave Desert of California is ideal for this purpose." The city of Twenty Nine Palms is the center for the marine training site. In addition, Fort Irwine has been modernized where during the second World War troops were trained for operations in North Africa. This military base was used during World War II to train U.S. troops for operations in North Africa.

SADAT TO "PROTECT WESTERN CIVILIZATION"

Egyptian leader Sadat, in an interview published on December 29 in the Egyptian weekly "October" magazine, in turn offered that "Egypt is ready to extend facilities to U.S. forces if the United States wants to take up the defence of Arab Gulf countries." Sadat went on to say: "The United States now needs a presence in the region that is dictated by the needs of Western civilization."

MORE U.S. "AID" FOR "PROGRESS" A LA SADAT

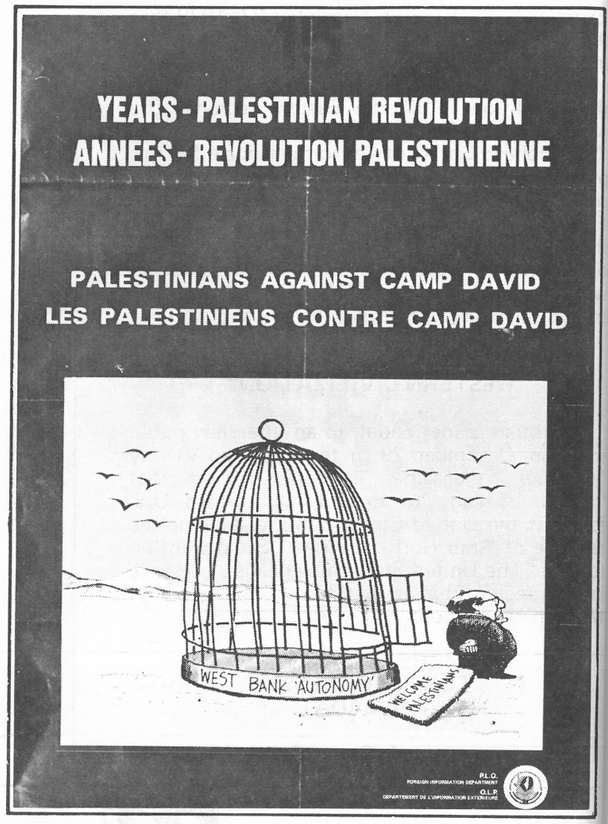
U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance on December 19 praised Egypt's economic progress and promised American aid at the opening of an 11 nation aid-to-Egypt consortium sponsered by the World Bank. USAID Assistant Administrator Joseph Wheeler told reporters: "Total aid to Egypt is around two billion dollars per year and 1.1 billion dollars of that is contributed by the United States." Wheeler, pointing out Egypt's economic "progress," added, "They have enormous problems including an inflation growing somewhat more rapidly than international inflation. But they are doing very well indeed."

KADDOUMI ON IRAN, AFGHANISTAN: "U.S. WANTS BASES"

During a visit to Bulgaria on January 12, the Head of the PLO's Political Department, Farouk Kaddoumi, declared that the U.S. wanted to continue exploiting the natural resources of Iran and Afghanistan. "The U.S. is trying to establish military bases in the Gulf and the Middle East", he said. The revolutions in Iran and Afghanistan had struck a heavy blow against imperialism. The Soviet Union had rendered selfless help to Afghanistan.

THE FALSE "PEACE"

"SELF - RULE": A SCHEME FOR RACIST DOMINATION



(The following analysis of the Israeli "self-rule" scheme has been issued by the "Committee for the Defense of the Palestinian People's Rights in the Occupied Homeland", Beirut/Lebanon, P.O.B. 14/5223).

The document prepared by Begin and adopted by his government on the subject of "self-rule" has had many details published about it in the Israeli media. It is essential to give a survey on these in order to know the truth of what Israel, Sadat and the United States are planning.

The primary aim of implementing the "self-administration" plan is to prevent the transformation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip into a Palestinian state. Within the plan, Israel aims to keep hold of full power and supervision over the territories through a long chain of administrative centres and Israeli settlements.

The most reliable proof of the Israeli government's colonialist intentions in relation to "self-rule" is epitomised in the Ben Elissar Committee's recommendations which formulated the concept of self-rule and were presented to the Israeli government as follows:

– "Self-rule" would be applied to the Arab inhabitants and not to the Jewish settlers.

– The Israeli army would continue to maintain internal and external security and continue its military exercises in the self-rule areas as it sees fit.

– It would be forbidden to grant the Arabs powers that could result in the establishment of a Palestinian state.

– Freedom of movement, land ownership and the establishment of Jewish settlements would be preserved.

– Israel would retain its possession of Jordanian state lands until the end of the 5-year self-rule period, after which Jordan would negotiate with Israel. Out of 6.5 million dunums in 'Judea and Samaria', there are 700,000 dunums registered in the name of the Jordanian state and half a million dunums under reorganisation.

– Control of water resources through an Israeli-controlled body.

– The list of Arab candidates for the elections would be vetted by the security apparatus to ensure that the PLO does not influence candidates.

– The self-rule authorities may not issue currency or levy customs dues but they may impose direct taxes.

– The self-rule authorities may not issue passports and the inhabitants would be required to hold Jordanian or Israeli passports.

– Censorship would forbid the publication of provocative propaganda, including educational curricula.

– Communications and health would be organised between the "self-rule" authorities and Israel.

– The "self-administration" authorities would not be allowed to independently raise taxes or set up a radio and television network; the "self-administration" team would also be forbidden to issue postage stamps and currency or administer operations for the import and export of goods and is emphatically not allowed to conduct elections involving electoral lists which bear specific slogans.

The draft also specifies that land registration is the responsibility solely of the Israeli occupation, that Jewish settlers may not be subject to "self-administration" legislation and laws, that the Israeli army will have control over hundreds of thousands of dunums of land for military training purposes and that the Israeli occupation authorities may construct roads as they see fit.

MORE LAND CONFISCATION

These recommendations are contained in a report presented by the committee set up specifically to prepare the "self-administration" structure, under the chairmanship of Eliahu Ben Elissar, the Director General of Menahem Begin's office. According to these recommendations, very wide powers must continue to be entrusted to the commanders of the Israeli army and security forces, and the interests which Israel intends thereby to achieve must be specified after consultations between representatives of the General Staff headed by the occupation command, in addition to representatives of the Israeli public security and police. As part of this plan, the Israeli army is to set up military bases and arms depots in these regions to supply the Israeli army with its needs in any outbreak of war in the region, and finally, the Israeli army would have the right to conduct military training and manœuvres. For this, the Israeli army would be authorised to confiscate 245,000 dunums, all of which would be allocated for firing range training, as well as 480,000 dunums which would be regarded as army training areas, and it would not be permitted for these areas to be inhabited or used for any agricultural purpose by their owners, the Arabs in the occupied territories.

In addition to all that, the Israeli army will seek to confiscate a further 2,000 dunums to establish camps to house the Israeli forces in the occupied Arab territories on a permanent basis.

MILITARY OCCUPATION

With regard to the construction of roads and streets the document states that, in accordance with security requirements and to enable the Israeli army's forces to supervise and monitor any movements along the borders, the Israeli occupation authorities may, by order of the Israeli government, construct ten large roads in the West Bank in addition to a long street in the Gaza Strip for the same purpose. These roads which are to be constructed are in addition to the winding roads which Israeli army forces have built to monitor the movements of Arab population concentrations in Nablus, Ramallah, Jenin and other places.

In the light of this, the Israeli army will set up checkpoints along these roads and will be given power to allow or forbid Arab citizens to build on their lands in this region.

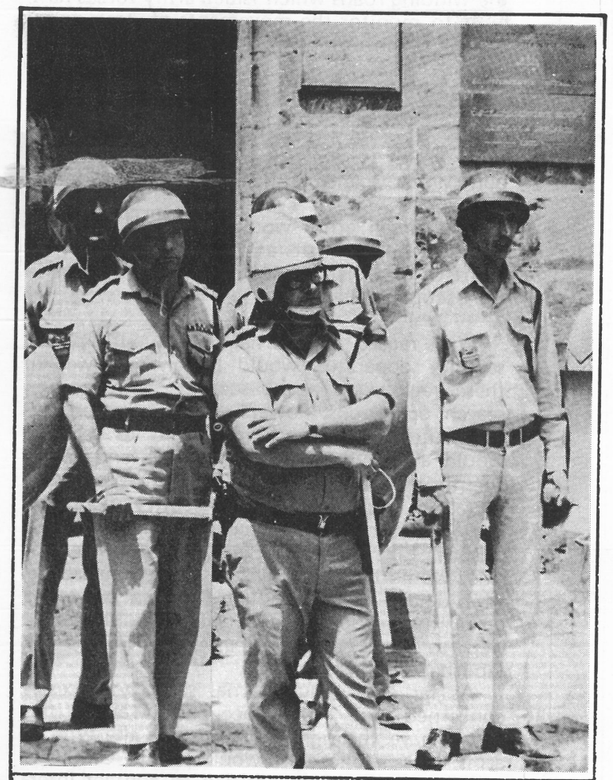
The Israeli army would have full power to supervise border posts and may intervene in the event of any disturbances or demonstrations in the occupied areas.

With regard to internal security, the public security apparatus would be given power in these regions to arrest suspects and conduct search operations. Powers of interrogation and prosecution in everything related to security would all be in the Israelis' hands, and consequently the detention and arrest of persons suspected of disturbing Israeli security would be carried out by Israeli security men, in Israeli prisons. Likewise the Israeli occupation authorities would have the right to refuse amnesty to Arab detainees, even though the local police set up by the occupation authorities would be allowed to place detainees in their prisons established for this purpose.

As far as arming internal security forces is concerned, the Israeli occupation authorities would have the right to determine the type of arms these policemen would carry. Only the Israeli authorities are entitled to contact Interpol and security apparatuses in foreign states if the need arises. With regard to Jewish settlements established in the occupied Arab areas, a special security apparatus from the settlers themselves would be formed. The settlers would be allowed to carry arms in all the occupied Arab areas, not just the areas where they have settled.

CONTROL OF ALL COMMUNICATIONS

The Israeli communications ministries would be given sweeping powers to supervise means of communication in the West Bank and Gaza Strip after the application of the "self-administration" plan. Even the technical workers and employees must all be Israelis, and the self-administration council would not even have the right to supervise the electromagnetic equipment.



The enforcers of "autonomy"

ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE

In the economic sphere, the "self-administration" council may not issue currency or establish a central bank, since Israel will have the sole authority to supervise the transfer of funds from abroad, their entry and transactions in them in the self-administration areas. The council also may not deal in foreign currencies except by order of the Israeli authorities.

The self-administration council may be allowed to impose some direct and indirect taxes, but not customs duties. In addition, Israel would directly control the self-administration areas' exports and imports as well as the movement of visitors from Arab countries.

EXPLOITATION OF WATER RESOURCES

Finally, with regard to water supplies and resources, the Israeli occupation authorities would undertake to supply the Gaza Strip with water, whereas they arrogate to themselves alone the right to control and exploit water supplies in all occupied Arab areas, exactly as is the case in "Western Israel" as the document calls it.

The last point in the document deals with giving Israel power to appropriate pre-Israeli occupation state lands in the self-administration areas through the Custodian of Government Properties.

Whoever peruses the text of the document becomes fully aware that what the occupation authorities have tried to do after this long period of occupation, lasting more than 30 years, is to destroy the Palestinian cause and deprive the Palestinian and Arab human being of his personality and national character. The Israeli occupation aims to eliminate any national hopes and aspirations for the future, as well as implementing a policy of emptying the country of its lawful inhabitants, consequently working to end the Palestinians' existence.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE "SELF-RULE" PLAN

In the dictionary of international law there is no place for the term "self-administration" or "self-rule" in the circumstances or under the yoke of occupation. "Self-rule" under occupation is simply a first step towards the occupier's annexation of the occupied areas, since self-administration requires that those subject to it recognise the central government and its authority over them as a basic and legal condition for its establishment. Likewise elected local bodies and authorities are to be set up which derive their legality and receive their instructions from the central authority represented by the occupier. This situation gives legality to the occupation in the sense that the citizens under occupation have agreed to elect bodies to represent them to the state which occupies them, and because they have implicitly agreed to remain under the general authority of the state which nas occupied their territory through the intermediary of self-rule. Such a situation can continue indefinitely. Hence international law does not recognise "self-rule" which is applied in the circumstances of occupation, first, because occupation is an illegal phenomenon which came about through the use of force, secondly because occupation is only a temporary phase which must be eliminated as soon as international circumstances allow, thirdly because the occupier does not enjoy sovereignty or ownership over areas he has occupied, and fourthly because this way deprives the inhabitants of the occupied areas of their natural and fundamental right of self-determination.

The "self-rule" for the occupied areas which Israel has planned, and to which the ruler of Egypt has agreed with encouragement from U.S. imperialism, is merely a blatant game rejected by logic and international law and custom. The aim of self-rule is simply to perpetuate the occupation, not to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their legitimate right of self-determination.

The "self-rule" plan is invalid from the start. In November 1967 the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 242 which among others calls for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied territories and recognition of the sovereignty of all states in the region and their right to live in security and peace within recognised boundaries. Article 25 of the United Nations Charter specifies that every state must carry out the Security Council's resolutions. When the Security Council adopts a resolution against an action which a particular state has carried out, this means that the action which this state has committed is contrary to the UN Charter. The Camp David agreement in practice allows Israel to keep its forces in the occupied areas, whereas this contradicts the Security Council resolution and the UN Charter which demand withdrawal of these forces, and it constitutes a violation of Article 102 of the Charter which gives the Charter precedence if a state's obligations are in conflict between the commitments deriving from the Charter and those originating from any other agreement. The state's obligations under the Charter are the binding ones in such a case.

DEPOPULATION PROGRAM

It is not hard for anyone who follows the course of events in countries to arrive at the conclusion that the government of Israel, from the first day of the occupation, has been working to annex these Arab territories to Israel. The newspapers are full of reports of confiscations, colonial settlement programmes and the expulsion of patriotic personalities who call for the restoration of rights to those to whom they belong and for the solution of the problem.

A comparison of the official statistics of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza Strip between 1967 and 1976 shows an increase in the displacement of the inhabitants from the towns and villages of the occupied areas to behind the cease-fire lines. According to Israel's bulletin of statistics for 1977, the number of people displaced from the West Bank up to that date totalled 723,000 and from the Gaza Strip 65,400 citizens. This policy, the policy of expulsion and removing lands from under their owners' feet, is a method resorted to previously by French colonialism in Algeria and German Nazism before the outbreak of the Second World War, after Britain and France had agreed to the handing over of the western part of the Republic of Czechoslovakia (the Sudeten region) under the Munich agreement signed on 29 September 1938. The German Nazis worked to compel the Czechs to leave the Sudeten region by force and inducements.

VAIN ATTEMPT TO BYPASS PALESTINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION

The Israeli "self-rule" plan is aimed at bypassing the principle of the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people, whose application the United Nations has demanded and which international law requires as a first step to solve the Middle East crisis.

Articles 1, 55 and 56 of the United Nations Charter define the legal concept of the right of self-determination as follows:

1 — The right of self-determination is an unconditional right which cannot be compromised.
2 — Force or the threat of force may not be used to deny a people their right to self-determination.
3 — The right of every people to thoose their economic, political and social system.
4 — The right of equal sovereignty.
5 — The right to control natural resources.
6 — The right to independence.

These are the conditions which make up the meaning of the right of self-determination, not the "self-rule" which Begin proposes.

Palestinian women from Gaza pack oranges in Israeli factories for low wages.

EGYPT IN THE YEAR OF APPEASEMENT

by Faris Glubb

The signature of the treaty in March last year between Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Premier Menahem Begin was hailed by the Western news media as an event of historic importance. Looking through old press cuttings dating back to 1938, one is struck by the many similarities between this treaty and the Munich Agreement signed between the then Prime Minister of Britain Neville Chamberlain and the Nazi German leader Adolf Hitler.

Like Sadat, Chamberlain returned home from signing the treaty to tell cheering crowds that he had achieved "peace with honour" and "peace in our time". Both treaties were largely inspired by the signatories' dislike of Communism. The Munich Agreement was achieved through the mediation of Hitler's main ally, Mussolini, and sacrificed the interests and security of the rest of Europe, notably of Czechoslovakia, and made it easier for Hitler to launch his invasion of Poland the following year. The Sadat-Begin treaty came about through the mediation of Begin's main ally, President Carter, and has severely endangered the interests and security of the Arab World, particularly the Palestinian people, and has facilitated Israel's pursuit of an aggressive policy against Lebanon.

Of course, there are also differences. The demonstrations which greeted Chamberlain were not organised by the secret police. Although many Egyptians, like many British people in 1938, seem to have been deceived into thinking that real peace was at hand, the Sadat regime believes that "spontaneous" expressions of support for its policies can be more efficiently and smoothly organised by the state apparatus.

Furthermore, the Sadat-Begin treaty forms the foundation-stone of a rapidly developing US-led regional military alliance. The great material superiority which the United States enjoys over both Egypt and Israel has enabled it not only to mediate between them but also to direct them along lines which suit its own strategic designs. Mussolini's Italy, being weaker than Britain and Germany, was unable to play such a role in 1938.

Nevertheless, the similarities between the two treaties are sufficiently striking to give rise to concern that the Sadat-Begin treaty, like the Munich Agreement, may encourage further acts of aggression that would pose serious threats to peace. It is hoped that it will not also prove the prelude to another world war.

SADAT'S DICTATORSHIP

Egypt's internal situation at present carries within it the seeds of explosion, essentially because of the despotic nature of the Sadat regime. In Britain, when the error of Chamberlain's policies became apparent, a bloodless and relatively smooth transfer of power came about through the parliamentary system, and Chamberlain was replaced by Winston Churchill, who had opposed the appeasement of Hitler.

No such mechanism exists in modern Egypt. The Egyptian "People's Assembly" or Parliament is a rubber-stamp body appointed by Sadat, although a formality of rigged elections is observed. The signature of the Sadat-Begin treaty was followed almost immediately by a "referendum" in which over 99% of the population allegedly supported the treaty — a preposterous claim since there has never been a nation in which 99% of the citizens hold an identical view on any subject. This farce was then followed by parliamentary "elections" in which candidates were forbidden to criticise the treaty, on the grounds that "the people" had given their verdict on it, and one must not be allowed to oppose "the will of the people". The right to dissent and to present alternative policies was thus denied to candidates in the elections. In the same referendum, 99.9% of voters were also alleged to have approved the dissolution of Parliament.

The elections were necessary in order to eliminate 23 members of the previous Parliament who had dared to vote against the treaty. In particular, Sadat was determined to oust the outspoken opposition party, the Unionist Progressive National Group, totally from Parliament. Thus, according to "Middle East International" magazine of 22 June 1979, UPNG leader Khalid Muhieddin was reported in the elections "to have won in his constituency, then to be leading, and then to have been defeated," and he "claims that the full apparatus of the state was used to intimidate voters, to harass opposition candidates and to rig the results." The magazine noted that "Ahmad Taha is a Marxist critic of the government's economic policies as well as of the peace treaty. He is also a popular constituency member of Parliament. Shortly before the election he was accused of being in effect a Bulgarian spy, on what many people considered to be somewhat flimsy grounds. In spite of being detained, in spite of attempts to smear him, Taha topped the poll. He was declared to have been defeated because of a technicality. His constituents, from one of the poorest parts of Cairo, are bitter."

The magazine added that "Nabawi Ismail, who as Interior Minister organized and supervised the elections and the counting, received more than 95% of the votes — in spite of the fact that he faced several opponents. His wife, a popular singer, Faida Kamel, got 18,760 votes out of 19,000. The Prime Minister, Dr. Khalil, the Deputy Premier, Fikri Makram Ebeid, Mr. Sadat's close friend and confidant, the construction king Othman Ahmed Othman, all polled staggeringly high percentages."

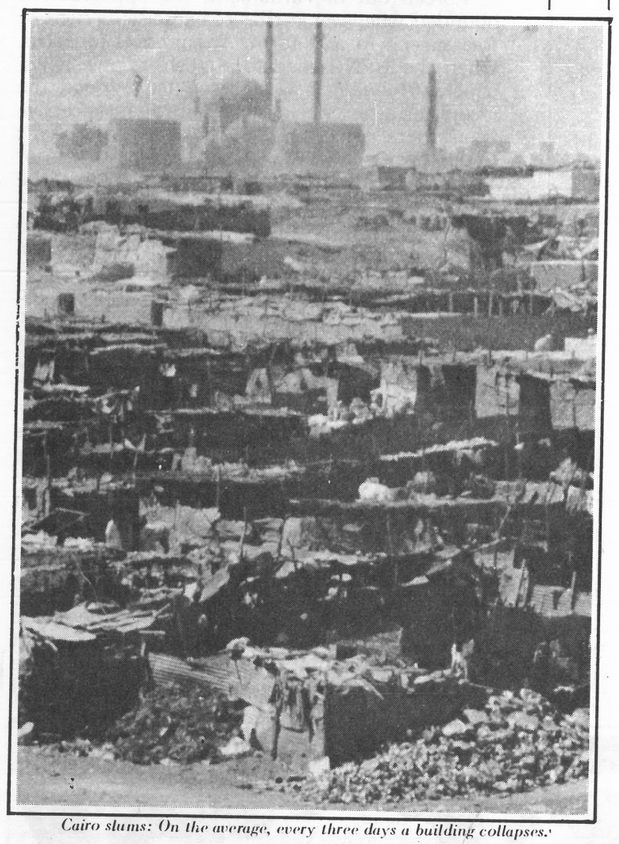
Forced out of Parliament, the opposition is hounded whenever it tries to exercise its right of free speech in any form. The press is muzzled. When the UPNG tried to publish its own newspaper, *Al Ahali,* it was forced to abandon the idea after a few weeks because several successive issues were confiscated by the censors. Sadat's Egypt has its own even more vicious version of South Africa's "90 Days Law", enabling the so-called "Socialist Prosecutor" to detain anyone for renewable six-month periods for up to five years without trial. Thus the fundamental right of *habeas corpus* is non-existent in Egypt today. Critics of the regime are often imprisoned on the most trivial charges. Thus Ahmad Fuad Nagm, Egypt's greatest modern poet, was sentenced to one year's imprisonment by a military tribunal for criticising the regime, and later tried by another court for doing a satirical imitation of Sadat's voice. Indeed, dissenters are often referred to military courts, simply because they would be acquitted by the ordinary civil courts, whose integrity the regime has not yet managed to destroy.

WHEN WILL THE RECKONING COME?

The extent to which basic human rights are suppressed makes it very hard to determine just how widespread opposition to the Sadat regime has become. It is known to include virtually all

Sadat "opens the door" to foreign consumer goods — but the prices are far beyond the means of most Egyptians.

EGYPT IN THE YEAR OF APPEASEMENT



Cairo slums: On the average, every three days a building collapses.

leftists and Arab nationalists, including followers of the late President Nasser, as well as the majority of religious Muslims who condemn Sadat for collaborating with the enemies of Islam, and members of the dissolved Wafd Party. Frequent purges of the officer corps, as well as reliable reports of a few officers and men deserting to go underground, suggest that the armed forces also are not free of discontent.

Many of Sadat's opponents have been forced to "vote with their feet" by going into exile. Some 28% of the members of the Egyptian Writers' and Journalists' Union have been forced to live abroad, and many of those who remain, if they are suspected of not supporting the regime fully, are not allowed to publish their own work. They are often forced to survive by translating foreign writings. Altogether some 3 million Egyptians now live abroad, about ten times the number who emigrated during President Nasser's time. This exodus has been provoked not only by political repression but also by lack of opportunities for earning a livelihood in Egypt.

The economic situation is probably the Sadat regime's greatest weakness, and it is to a considerable extent self-inflicted. During the Nasser era the Egyptian economy was not wealthy, but it was making slow, steady progress. In the decade 1960-70 the average real annual growth rate was 4.9%, despite several drains on resources such as the military involvement in Yemen and the June 1967 war with the subsequent loss of Suez Canal and Sinai oil revenues. During the first years of Sadat's presidency (1971-76) real national income rose by an average of 4.7% annually. But when revenues from new oil finds and the reopened Suez Canal are excluded, the average annual real growth rate was only 2.5%.

AN UNBALANCED ECONOMY

The main economic growth in the Sadat era has been in the commercial and financial sectors (7.5% annually in 1971-76, compared to 2.3% in 1960-70). The annual growth rates for the really productive sectors dropped heavily between the two periods under consideration: industry from 5.8% to 1.5%, agriculture from 4.1% to 2% and construction from 11.7% to 2.2%. Thus, once Sadat came to power, the growth of Egypt's productive sectors fell below the rate of annual population growth, which is around 2.2%. This has resulted in inflation, a fall in living standards for the majority and increasing foreign debts.

When President Nasser died in 1970, Egypt's total foreign debts were under $1bn. These debts had been incurred partly to rebuild the armed forces after 1967, and partly to finance development projects that in the long term would enhance Egypt's prosperity. Under Sadat, with productive economic growth negligible, the bulk of loans have been financing the import of consumer goods. "The Financial Times" of 12 May 1979 estimated Egypt's foreign non-military debts at about $9.7 bn (military debts are believed to total over $4bn.) This may well be a conservative estimate, as some economists believe total foreign debts are now over $ 15bn with servicing costs at around $ 2bn annually.

In June 1979, the Sadat regime told the industrialised nations' summit in Tokyo that it needed $18bn to put its economy in order. Earlier, Sadat himself had spoken of $15bn being needed, and expressed the hope for a "Carter plan" on the lines of the Marshall plan.

In fact, not even the more modest sum is likely to be forthcoming simply because of the general lack of confidence in Egyptian economic viability unless there is a drastic change in policy. The reason why the Egyptian economy has been brought to the brink of ruin is simply Sadat's *infitah* or "open-door" policy. One of the few true statements Sadat ever made was his admission to US newsmen on 28 March 1979 that "I have failed as an economist".

In brief, the *infitah* policy involves lifting the Nasser era's socialist controls, discouraging the public sector and encouraging foreign investment. It has resulted in the running down of the public sector, with many factories producing at below 60% capacity, without a corresponding strengthening of the local private sector. Local industries, both private and public, have declined owing to competition from foreign consumer goods imported usually by people close to Sadat who have made large private fortunes. "The existence of a rich bourgeoisie is not new," one Egyptian economist told me. "But even under the monarchy, the rich made their money by building factories and investing in productive projects. The new bourgeoisie has become rich through real estate speculation and the import of American cars and TV sets."

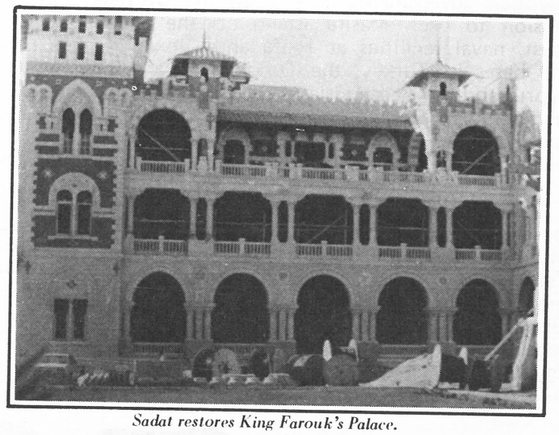
Of the foreign investment that has been attracted, the bulk has gone into investment companies, banking and other areas such as luxury housing which do not result in any real increase in Egypt's productive capacity. Foreign banks doing business in Egypt have siphoned much larger sums out of the country than they have invested in it.

ARAB ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

The day of reckoning for the Sadat regime over its economic policies has been brought nearer by the imposition of economic sanctions by the Arab states, at the Baghdad meeting of Arab Foreign Affairs and Economics Ministers shortly after the Sadat-Begin treaty was signed. Sanctions also included a political boycott and a fuel embargo on the Sadat regime.

Arab governmental aid to Egypt since the 1967 war totalled at least $6bn (although Sadat refuses to admit this), and Syrian Information Minister Ahmad Iskandar and an official Kuwaiti source both estimated the total inflow of Arab capital to Egypt from 1973 to 1979 at $17bn. Tourists from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf used to account for most of Egypt's revenues from tourism, which dropped sharply last year. Despite continued foreign currency earnings from oil and the Suez Canal, Egypt is likely to face a tight hard currency situation as banking credit lines dry up. US economic aid (roughly $1bn annually) and smaller sums from EEC states can only make up for a fraction of previous Arab aid levels.

While Egypt is an oil producer, since the embargo it has reportedly had to import gas from Brazil. This adds some 30% to gas costs, and will result in price increases for any goods whose production involves the use of gas. Add to all this the loss of Arab markets for those goods that Egyptian industry was still producing for export.



Sadat restores King Farouk's Palace.

SADAT'S OWN "CAMP DAVID"

King Farouk's Palace in Egypt, which had been converted into a National Monument after the overthrow of the monarchy, is currently being "restored" to become Sadat's Palace. Observers point out that upon completion the National Monument will serve Sadat as his own "Camp David" retreat.

MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE TREATY

The Arab World is quite correct to regard the Sadat-Begin treaty as a threat to its security, since the treaty is basically part of a framework for a military alliance of the US with local client states, led by the Sadat regime and Israel. By their endorsement of the treaty, the governments of Sudan and Oman have virtually joined this alliance, while King Hassan is drifting towards it with his acquisition of arms from the US and Egypt.

The signing of the treaty was delayed because of the need to define the precise roles Egypt and

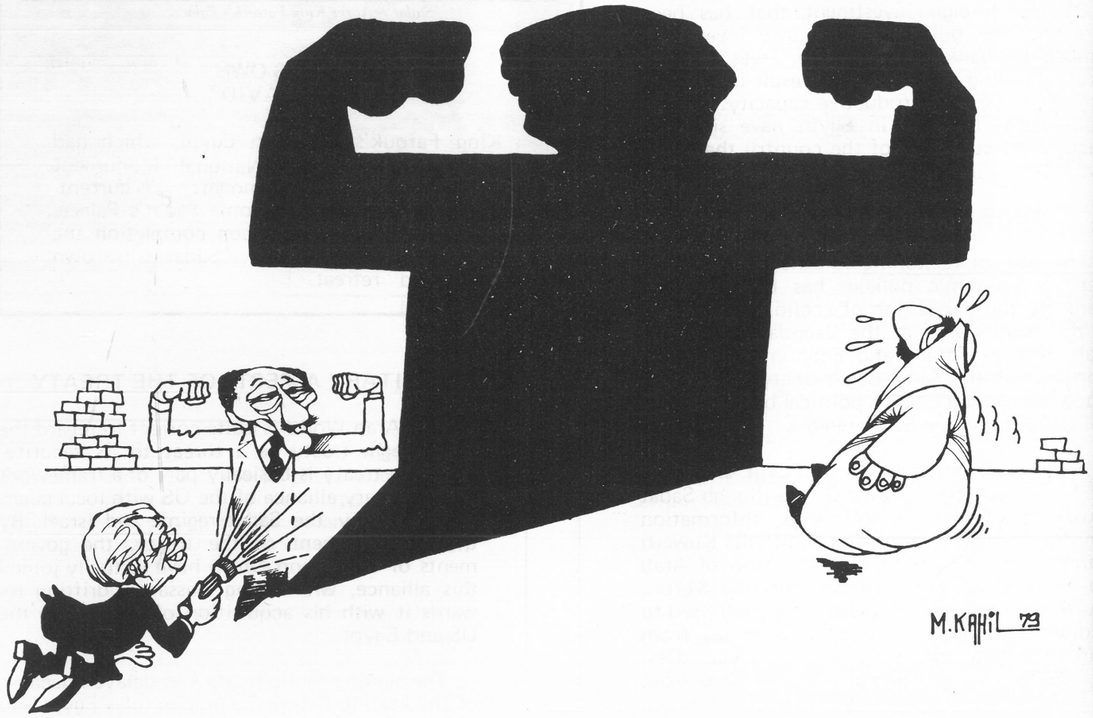
Israel should play in US Middle East strategy following the Iranian revolution. It is probably the only treaty in history in which the mediator gave massively increased military aid to two formerly warring parties immediately after they made peace with each other, $3bn to Israel and $1.5bn for Egypt.

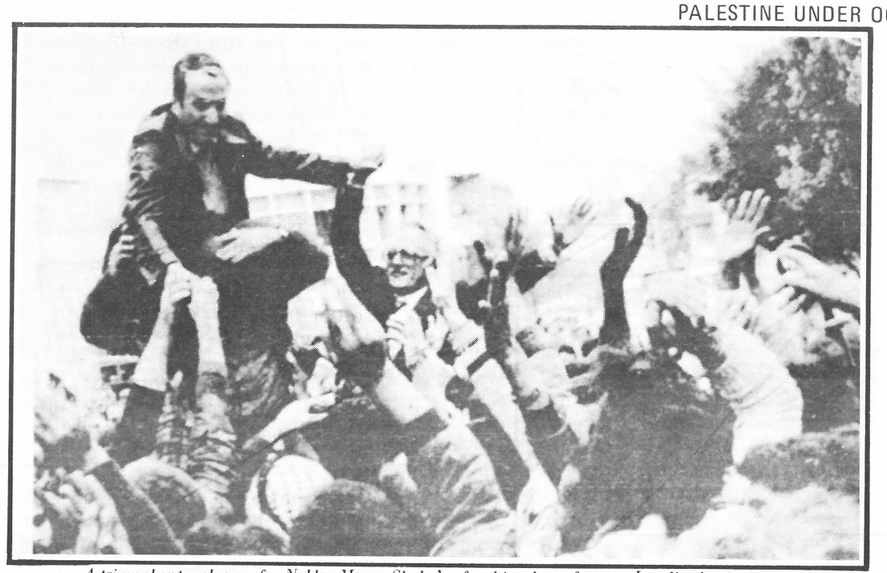
The new alliance is closely linked to US plans for intervention to seize the Arab oilfields, for which a special 110,000-man invasion force is being prepared. It involves building up a huge chain of US military bases in and around the Middle East oil reservoir, including two bases in the Negev and one in Sinai (which the Israeli and Egyptian governments have given the US permission to use), Masira Island off the Oman coast, naval facilities at Haifa and Alexandria and bases in Turkey, the Turkish-held area of Cyprus and the Aegean islands, and Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. The US will also be conducting joint military and naval manoeuvres with Egyptian and Israeli forces.

Plans have been drawn up within the alliance for provoking wars between the two Yemens, with Oman and Egypt intervening on the North Yemeni side, between Morocco and Algeria, Iraq and Iran, Somalia and Ethiopia, and Egypt and Libya. While these plans may have initially had a contingency nature, there are a number of US, Egyptian and Israeli leaders eager to carry them out. The attempts to stir up internal conflict in Syria has been widely attributed at least partly to "the partners of Camp David".

A number of documents were annexed to the Sadat-Begin treaty, including a US-Israeli memorandum of understanding which referred to "the parties' desire that the United States continue its supportive efforts". It provided that, in the event of "violation or threat of violation" of the treaty, the US would consult the parties and take "such remedial measures as it deems appropriate, which may include diplomatic, economic and military measures." These could include "the strengthening of the United States presence in the area" and support for "proper actions taken by Israel in response to such demonstrated violations."

This is tantamount to a US-Israeli guarantee to try to maintain the present regime in power against a popular uprising, since its overthrow could be interpreted as a "threat of violation" of the treaty. Whether the US government could intervene militarily in Egypt in the post-Vietnam era without widespread public protest is an open question; probably it would try to gain public acquiescence by demagogic propaganda about the oil crisis. Israeli intervention to save Sadat, however, remains a distinct possibility. Yet how long can the Egyptian people afford to be ruled by a regime whose policies are leading them to disaster?





A triumphant welcome for Nablus Mayor Shaka'a after his release from an Israeli prison

RESISTANCE SURVEY SINCE CAMP DAVID

Anwar Sadat knew full well before undertaking his treasonous "peace" initiative that the only peace acceptable to the PLO and the world at large was one in which the Palestinian people would realize their inalienable rights: their right of return, their right to self-determination and their right to their own independent state on their own land — Palestine. But Sadat knew all too well that Begin was not ready to recognize the existence of the Palestinians or their rights. Given the choice between supporting the Palestinians or selling them out to Begin, Sadat chose to do the latter.

The Egyptian President sold out two groups of Palestinians. On the one hand, there were those inside the occupied territories who were to be granted a fictitious "autonomy" if they would legitimize the Zionist occupation. On the other hand, there were the Palestinians in exile who would be muzzled by the Arab regimes and would find themselves incapable of pursuing their struggle against the Zionist entity.

But there was a surprise in store for Sadat. The unanimity of the Palestinians inside the occupied territories was total in rejecting the Camp David Accords as well as the "autonomy" plan. These Palestinians publicly proclaimed their support for the PLO. Their response to the US-Israeli-Egyptian conspiracy was not long in coming: intensification of the struggle against the occupation.

Thus the towns and villages in the West Bank and occupied Gaza have been the scene of general strikes, popular meetings and violent demonstrations to signal opposition to the Camp David Accords and any "autonomy" plan. "Palestine" magazine now presents a chronology of some of these events.

1978:

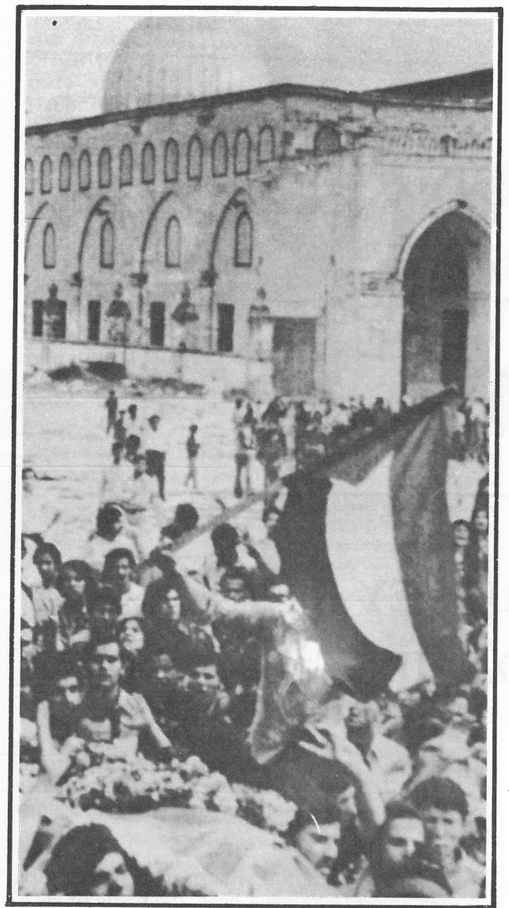
Sept. 17:
Camp David Agreements signed.

Sept. 30:
Popular meeting in Beit Henina expresses support for the PLO and rejection of "autonomy" plan.

Oct. 1:
Meeting attended by 7000 people in Jerusalem announces rejection "in form and substance" of the Camp David Accords.

Oct. 4:
A similar meeting held in Bir Zeit.

Oct. 19:
Important meeting in Gaza of Gaza Strip mayors, members of municipal councils, repre-



Palestinian flag raised in Jerusalem demonstration

sentatives from unions, professional associations and Chambers of Commerce. All express their support of the PLO and opposition to the Camp David "autonomy" plan.

Nov. 29:

International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. Pamphlets are distributed in the West Bank calling for "firm resistance" to the "autonomy" scheme. Popular demonstrations occur in Bir Zeit, Halhoul, Hebron, Nablus, Ramallah, Jalzoun, and Gaza Strip.

Dec. 7:

Popular assembly in Nablus at Najah College attended by about 5000 people. The assembly strongly condemns Sadat's policy of surrender to Israel, calling him "another Balfour."

1979:

March 15:

Two Palestinians are shot by Israelis in Halhoul during demonstrations against the impending Egyptian-Israeli treaty. Israel imposes a 23-hour curfew on the town every day until March 30.

March 26:

Egyptian-Israeli "peace" treaty signed in Washington.

May 2:

In Nablus West Bank mayors march to demand an end to Jewish settlement in the West Bank. In Bir Zeit, a 20-year old Palestinian university student is shot in the chest by a settler from the Gush Emunim settlement of Tel Hashamir.

May 3:

More Palestinian protests in Bethlehem and Bir Zeit against Israeli occupation and the "autonomy" plan. Israeli forces use tear gas to quell the demonstrations.

May. 13:

Gaza Mayor Rashad Shawa, visiting Beirut, expresses his total rejection of the "autonomy" scheme and confirms the unity of the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza, declaring that the PLO is their only representative.

May 15:

31st anniversary of the Zionist usurpation of Palestine. All inhabitants of Palestinian cities, villages and camps in the occupied territories observe a general strike to underline their rejection of Camp David's "autonomy" plan.

July 3:

Nablus Mayor Bassam Shaka'a declares that Palestinian municipalities and national bodies in the occupied territories reject any meetings or negotiations with US envoys which aim at implementing the Camp David Accords, including the "autonomy" project.

Oct. 12:

Despite Zionist intimidation, workers, students and other Palestinian citizens from Ramallah and El-Bireh hold a general strike in support of the mayors of the two cities, Karim Khalaf and Ibrahim Tawil. The mayors are to face a Zionist military court on charges of opposing the "autonomy" plan.

Nov. 29:

All municipal heads in the West Bank and Gaza Strip resign in protest against the arrest and attempted expulsion of Nablus Mayor Bassam Shaka'a. Shaka'a had warned an Israeli official that the Palestinian people will continue armed struggle to end the Israeli occupation of their homeland.

Clearly the Palestinian people are firmly united beneath the banner of the PLO against the tripartite US-Egyptian-Israeli plot to legitimize Israel's occupation of Palestinian land. Liberation, not occupation, remains the goal of the PLO and the Palestinian people, whose unity in the face of imperialist threats brings victory closer every day. □

THE LAND:

ZIONIST COLONIZATION AFTER CAMP DAVID

In 1979, the Begin government launched a campaign of settlement and land confiscation unprecedented in the history of the Zionist state. The colonization drive was timed at every stage to coincide with the stages of first, the Camp David Agreements, and finally with the signing of the so-called "peace" treaty between Egypt and Israel. The Begin government's policy in the occupied territories in this period has been arrogantly designed to thwart any possibility of Palestinian self-determination, or even the implantation of a form of neo-colonialist "autonomy". Instead, the Begin government has sought rapid de facto *annexation* of the occupied territories. The settlement drive in 1979 and resulting land grab even defied Israel's economic capacity to effectuate the policy without throwing the whole Zionist economy into a further spiraling crisis. The land confiscation and imposition of new settlements have not only been aimed at the occupied territories but also there has been a hysterical push in the Galilee and attempts at uprooting the Bedouin in the Negev to build 3 Israeli air bases to replace those "evacutated" in the Sinai.

CAMP DAVID SIGNALS ZIONIST EXPANSION

After the completion of the Camp David Agreement in September 1978, the Begin government publicly declared an alleged 3-month moratorium on new settlements in the occupied territories. In effect this period was used by various Zionist coordinating agencies and government departments to devise an overall annexation plan. At the end of the three-month moratorium on December 17, 1978, the Zionist cabinet moved secretly to establish 3 new settlements in the occupied territories: 2 in the Jordan Valley and 1 at the southern tip of the Gaza Strip. In January, 1979, the Israeli cabinet

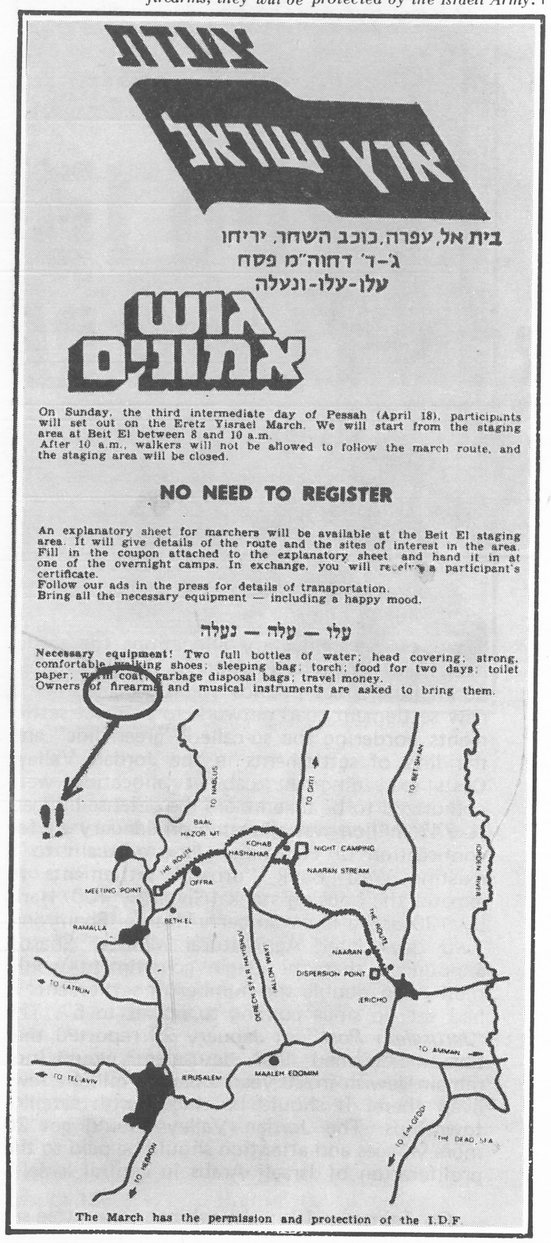
Zionist settlement minister Sharon overseas land theft at Elon Moreh in the occupied West Bank.

began overall budgetary allocations for settlements and land confiscation in the West Bank. 30 million Israel pounds were allocated for a new settlement road network to connect settlements bordering the so-called "green line" and the line of settlements in the Jordan Valley. Costs exceeding the cabinet allocation were authorized to be taken from the defense budget. IL 741 million was allocated on January 21 for confiscation of Palestinian land adjacent to 3 existing West Bank "urban" settlements to expand the housing stock (Givon by 100, Haris by 120 and a like number in Karnei Shamron). Two days later Agricultural Minister Sharon announced that the Begin government would more than double the number of settlements it had set up since coming to power to 57. The *"Jerusalem Post"* of January 23 reported that Sharon "warned that Jerusalem would not remain Jewish in 20 years unless a million Jews lived there. It should be ringed with satellite townships. The Jordan Valley should get 20 more villages and attention should be paid to the proliferation of Israeli Arabs in central Israel."

On February 10th, the cabinet committee set

THE LAND: ZIONIST COLONIZATION AFTER CAMP DAVID

Gush Emunim advertisement in "Jerusalem Post" calling for a "march" into the occupied West Bank. The marchers are asked to carry firearms; they will be protected by the Israeli Army.



up after Camp David to make recommendations on West Bank and Gaza "autonomy" finally published its report. Not surprisingly, the so-called Ben-Elissar Committee Report had nothing to do with "autonomy", but rather focused on new plans for land confiscation. The committee recommended that 700,000 dunums (1 dunum = 0.24 acres) of land in the West Bank which the Zionists claim to be registered as property of Jordan and 500,000 dunums of land claimed to be "not registered properly" should revert to direct Israeli control under any "autonomy" plan. Since there are under Israeli claims 5.5-5.9 million dunums in the West Bank (Palestinian estimates are much less), the amount of land confiscated suggested by the Ben-Elissar Committee would give the Zionists direct control of over 50 percent of all West Bank land. Already the Israelis control close to 30 percent of all land in the West Bank. In areas of intensive settlement like the Jordan Valley, the Zionists control up to 70 percent of the land and 40% of the most fertile land, farmed by 2,000 settlers, 22,000 Palestinians make do with what land is left.

Later in April Begin tried to explain the massive land confiscation plans in post-treaty Knesset debates with "Alice in Wonderland" logic. As reported in the "Jerusalem Post," April 25, "Begin told the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee that the Israeli government would not expropriate [Arab] land, but would seize it. The difference is that in expropriation, the title of ownership passes to the government, whereas in seizure, the title remains vested in the owner, but the government takes possession of the land."

As the day for the signing of the treaty with Egypt neared, the settlement hysteria escalated. At the end of February, the World Zionist Organization allocated IL 1 billion for "strengthening" existing settlements beginning at the start of fiscal year 1980-81 on April 1. This represented double the budget for settlements allocated in fiscal year 1978-79. Three days before Carter visited Israel to wrap up the final details for the "peace" treaty, the Begin government seized 200 dunums of Palestinian land in the West Bank for expansion of the Zionist settlement of Efrat south of Jerusalem. Two days after Carter's visit the cabinet almost doubled again the settlement budget to IL 85 billion. When Carter raised objections with Agricultural Minister Sharon about what effect Israeli settlement policy in the West Bank would have on attempts to draw Palestinians into "autonomy" talks, Sharon simply replied: "I want to tell you, Mr. President, there might be 2 million Jews there [in the West Bank]."This did not faze Carter. The current U.S. administration, as have previous ones, continues to subsidize Israeli expansionism.

Sharon's notification to Carter that Zionism would continue to pursue an expansionist settlement policy in the occupied territories was concretely interwoven into the treaty process itself. Before signing the treaty, Begin made a secret agreement with the most fanatical party in his rightist Likud coalition, the National Religious Party, that upon Knesset ratification of the treaty his government would immediately authorize the establishment of 10 new settlements and continue to implement an aggressive expansionist policy in the West Bank and Gaza. Later in June, when the so-called Egyptian-Israeli "autonomy" talks began, the Israeli cabinet instructed their negotiators that the guidelines for the outcome of the talks should aim at full Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank after 5 years.

Full knowledge of the Zionist expansion drive did not stop Sadat from total capitulation in signing the treaty and becoming a full partner in the U.S.-Israeli entente. In fact, within days of the treaty signing, plans were readied by the Jewish Agency to expand settlements in the Gaza Strip to accommodate Jewish settlers to be "evacuated" from the Sinai. On April 14, the Jewish Agency announced that 20 new settlements would be established in the Gaza in the next 3 years. 15 of the new settlements would be built specifically for settlers from the Sinai. Jewish Agency executive Arye Dulzin explained: "We are not evacuating settlements in the Sinai, but transferring them."

MILITARIZATION OF THE SETTLEMENT DRIVE

The immediate result of the "peace" treaty was the genocidal Zionist carpet bombing of south Lebanon. The military aggression in Lebanon coincided with the militarization of the Zionist settlement drive. The new settlement drive in the West Bank was carried out by Gush Emunim armed gangs in cooperation with the Israeli military forces. The "Jerusalem Post" reported, June 8, that Deputy Defense Minister Mordechai Zipori had granted the Gush Emunim a free hand to seize Palestinian land for new settlements under the cover of setting up "Nahal" groupings (translated in Zionist terminology to mean military outposts). In addition, Gush Emunim settler gangs would begin enlisting in the Israeli Defense Forces in order to prevent any delaying court formalities from obstructing new land seizures. On June 4, the Israeli cabinet authorized the seizure of 800 dunums of land in Nablus in a further bow to Gush Emunim for expanding the settlement of Elon Moreh. From June to December the Nablus

Palestinian women sitting in front of her house demolished by the Israeli military authorities

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land seizure became the focus of West Bank Palestinian resistance to Zionist settlement policy. Palestinians in Nablus and Mayor Bassam Shaka'a organized mass demonstrations and a general strike against the Elon Moreh settlement. The concerted Palestinian resistance to the settlement led to exacerbation of simmering contradictions in Zionist circles over the Begin government's settlement policy. To try and defuse Palestinian resistance, the Israeli Supreme Court ordered a halt to construction of the settlement over the summer. When Palestinian steadfastness continued, the Supreme Court finally ruled that the government must vacate the settlement on October 19. Three weeks later the Begin government struck back by imprisoning Bassam Shaka'a and threatened to deport him. Again massive Palestinian protest in the occupied territories and international pressure prevented the Begin government from carrying out their deportation plan. Mayor Shaka'a was finally released in December. But there was no abatement of the Zionist settlement drive. In the first week of December, the Begin government announced that Elon Moreh would simply be relocated to Jebel el-Kebir, another hill overlooking Nablus, and more land would be seized. On December 12, out of jail only a week, Bassam Shaka'a again led a mass demonstration to Jebel el Kebir in continuing Palestinian resistance to land confiscation and the occupation.

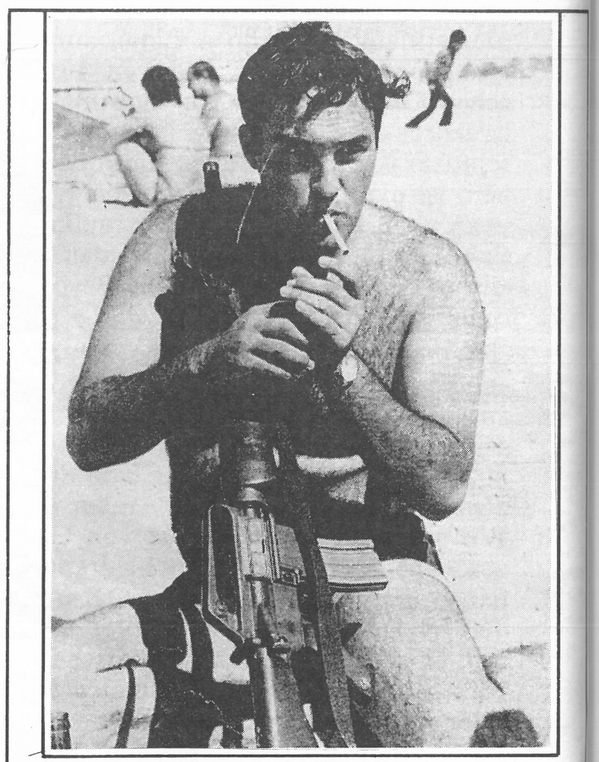
The Zionist settlement drive in the wake of the treaty was not isolated to the West Bank and the Gaza. The Begin government targeted three other areas for intensive settlement and land seizures: the Golan, the Galilee and the Negev.

THE GOLAN

From 1967 to 1979 the Zionists established 29 settlements in the Golan. After the signing of the Camp David treaty in March, the Begin government decided that the status of the Golan Heights could easily be dispensed with. On June 1, the Israeli cabinet extended civilian legal jurisdication over the majority of the Golan area. This signalled the first phase in a process of outright annexation. The June 1 cabinet decision did not satisfy Golan settlers. At Begin's Herut Party convention the next week, Golan settlers demanded that the Israeli government immediately declare annexation of the entire Golan Heights. This idea was very appealing to two Begin cabinet ministers. Defense Minister Weizman and Agricultural Minister Sharon signed a petition circulated by the settlers calling for annexation of the Golan to Israel. Earlier on April 2, Sharon had announced Zionist intentions to build 2 new settlements in the Golan by stating: "Israel will not leave the Golan Heights, even within the framework of a peace agreement with Syria."

THE GALILEE

Since a wave of Zionist land seizures in 1975, Palestinians in the Galilee became united as never before against the continuing Zionist encroachment upon their land and homes. It has always been the Zionist myth that the Galilee Palestinians are fully integrated into Israeli society. By the Zionists' own account in a Ford Foundation funded study published this year: at present an overwhelming majority of Galilee Palestinians do not identify themselves as Israeli. They support the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, and they reject Israeli occupation of the territories. Attendant to the growing national militance of the Galilee Palestinians, there has been a racist campaign in the Israeli press decrying the high Palestinian birth rate. The campaign has been similar in tone to Agricultural Minister Sharon's earlier quoted statement that: "Attention should be paid to the *proliferation* of Israeli Arabs in central Israel."



Zionist settler

On February 25, the Israeli Interior Ministry issued an emergency report on the demographic situation in the Galilee. It stated that as of 1978, the Jewish population in the Galilee stood at 304,000,-59,000 less than "planned". The Arab population stood at 285,000,-15,000 more than forecast. In an outrageous example of demented Zionist logic, the report charged that in the past 20 years Palestinians in the Galilee had *"seized"* some 40,000 dunums of land once used by the *British* for military training. This land had to be "recovered". With the oppressed magically transformed into the oppressors, the Interior Ministry called for remedy of the situation by building more Jewish settlements and enlarging settler enclaves in Carmiel, Ma'alot and Acre.

On April 28, the Israeli Finance Minister ordered the expropriation of 442 dunums of Arab land in the Galilee for Jewish settlement. It was the first time, that Palestinian land in the Galilee had been ordered seized since 1975. Palestinian landowners refused compensation and decided to resist the attempt at expropriation. Following the recommendation of the February Interior Ministry report, on May 2, 116 dunums of land belonging to the Palestinian villages of Yirka and Deir el-Asar near Acre were expropriated. The Interior Ministry announced that the land was for a new "industrial region", but the Israeli press revealed that the land was actually seized to build a kibbutz and a moshav. Three weeks later Sharon revealed that 26 new settlements were planned for the Galilee and 12 were already being built.

THE NEGEV

One direct result of the Egyptian-Israeli "peace" treaty has been Israeli plans for expropriating 8,000 Bedouins in the Negev of their land in order to build 3 air bases to replace those located in the Sinai. A major portion of the 3 billion dollars guaranteed Israel by the U.S. for signing the treaty will go for this massive land seizure involving 20,000 acres in only its first phase. To implement the massive land seizure in the Negev, the Begin government proposed special legislation in the Knesset in July. Under the legislation still pending, Bedouin land can be seized if "required by the state for purposes arising out of the peace agreement with Egypt." A special clause in the bill denies the Bedouin the right of appeal before any government body although theoretically they are supposed to have full citizenship rights.

The Zionist plan for the Negev in the post-treaty period aims at investing the billions of dollars supplied by the U.S. in the treaty deal to "develop" the Negev into a vast military industrial zone. Construction of the three mamouth air bases alone will involve investments exceeding 115 billion dollars. The labor force needed for such an undertaking is so beyond the Zionist capacity that Israel plans to import thousands of foreign workers. Construction will be supervised by the U.S. army and contracts will go to U.S. firms. But the first priority before launching this military monstrosity is to crush the centuries' old way of life of the Bedouin and ghettoize them into fenced-in reservations.

The 8,000 Bedouins whose land is slated to be confiscated are to be forced into "industrial villages". Two such villages already being built demonstrate what lies ahead for the Bedouin if Zionist plans are realized. They contain no "industry" whatsoever nor do they encompass lands suitable for agricultural use. The two "industrial villages" do not even have enough water supplies for the projected population's domestic use. For the past three years the Bedouin have been organizing themselves to retain their traditional culture and livelihood, to resist Zionist land seizures and infringement on their herding and water rights. But the Zionists have other plans for the Bedouin: to imprison them in desert camps lacking agricultural and water resources thereby transforming the bulk of the Bedouin population into a degraded cheap labor force. The Bedouin would be dependent for their survival on participating as unskilled workers in construction of the grandiose military projects the Zionists have planned for the Negev.

LAND "PURCHASES" ACT; MORE SETTLEMENTS

As 1979 drew to a close, Zionist settlement plans proceeded ahead at a fanatical pace.

On September 19, the Israeli cabinet announced that West Bank Palestinian land would be opened for purchase by private Jewish citizens. The goal behind this move was to drive the value of real estate up in the West Bank in hopes that, for a profit, Palestinians would abandon their land and emigrate. The land purchases action defied all international conventions concerning behavior of an occupying power in changing the demographic character of occupied territories.

On November 16, the Zionist Ministerial Committee on Settlements announced plans for adding 10,000 to 15,000 new housing units per year to West Bank settlements. Twelve settlements manned by military personnel were to be turned into civilian settlements. On November

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22, the Israeli cabinet decided to establish 19 new settlements in the West Bank. More settlements were announced in December.

But cracks in the Zionist expansionist delusions also began to appear. Deputy Prime Minister Simcha Ehrlich opposed the November 18 housing expansion plan stating that it would cost over 3 billion dollars to implement – more than the total aid granted to Israel by the U.S. under the treaty agreement. With the exception of the dense settlement complexes surrounding East Jerusalem, few Israelis other than fanatics like the Gush Emunim were prepared to live in the 100 or more smaller settlements that dot the West Bank and Gaza. Despite government pronouncements about new urbanization schemes for settlement development outside the East Jerusalem region, most settlements remain ghetto outposts surrounded by a hostile and militant Palestinian population.

'Semi-autonomy means you're absolutely free to move somewhere else whenever we choose to take your land for new settlements.'
The Sacramento Bee
18 June

ECONOMIC FOLLY: RESISTANCE GROWING

The economic folly of the settlement policy has brought the Zionist economy into a state of near bankruptcy. The bloated expenditures on expansion schemes and military hardware perpetuate the artificial nature of the economy which only functions at all because of continuous massive U.S. aid injections. Zionist expansionism demands that 25% of the yearly national budget be allocated for military "security" while most capitalist countries only spend from 4-6% of their yearly budget on military expenditures. Zionist expansionism has demanded that industrial production be geared increasingly toward military weaponry (fast becoming Israel's major foreign export item), rather than production of commodities which have any social or utilitarian value. To maintain this wild economic policy based on expansionism, the Begin government is forced to constantly devalue the currency, cut food subsidies and welfare programs. The rate of inflation is heading toward 150% per year. This rate of inflation is only to be found in countries in the world with the most reactionary military dictatorships like Chile.

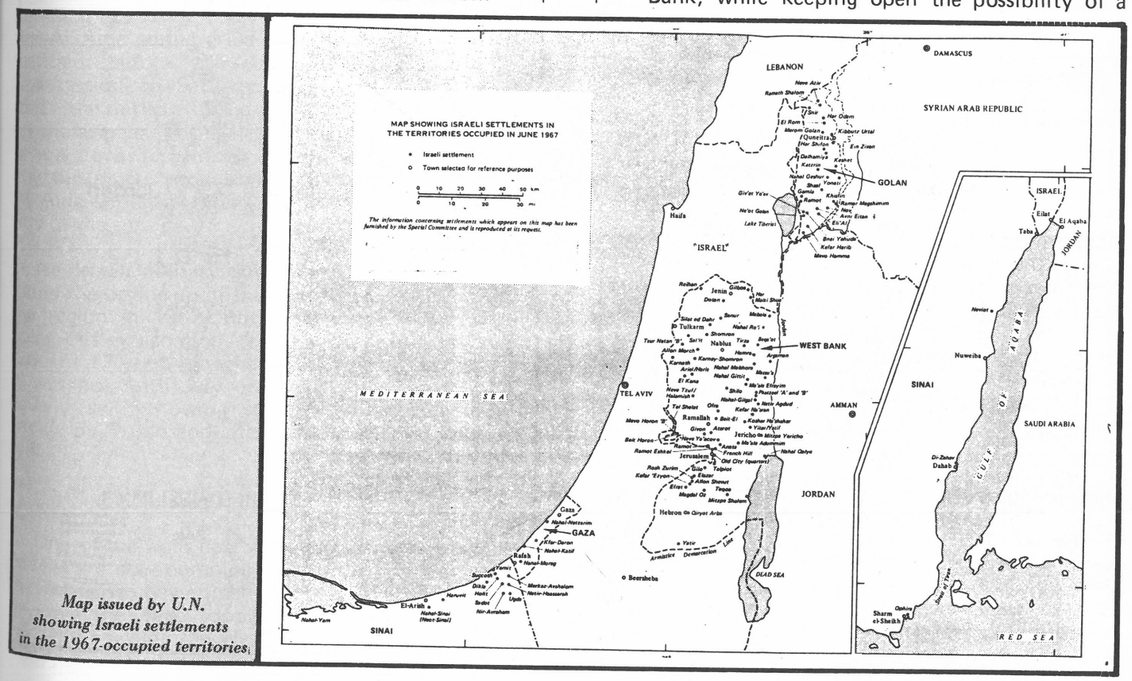
Most importantly, Zionist expansionism daily solidifies the steadfastness of the Palestinian people to resist the brutal occupation and to liberate Palestine from the exploitative grip of Zioinism. Palestinian military operations in the occupied territories continue unabated in 1979. The level of mass popular resistance to the occupation has deepened in the occupied territories through the organization of persistent general strikes, harrassment of Israeli military maneuvers against the population and constant demonstrations. The resistance to Zionism has taken a firm hold in the heart of the Zionist enclave itself: among the Palestinians in the Galilee and among the newly organized Bedouin. Outside the occupied territories the PLO has strengthened its position in the international community as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. The Zionism settlement policies have demonstrated beyond a doubt the sham of the so-called Camp David "peace" and have been unanimously condemned this year in the UN with only Israel itself casting a negative vote. Despite the aggressiveness of Zionist expansion, all indications point to the fact that the future belongs to the PLO and the Palestinian people.

ISRAELI COLONIALISM

In July 1979, the United Nations Commission appointed under UN Security Council Resolution 446 of 22 March 1979 to investigate Israeli settlements in the occupied territories of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and the Sinai, published its findings. The report takes into account only existing settlements, not the recent vast programs for new ones. According to the figures obtained, by July 1979 a total of 133 settlements had been established in the occupied territories: 17 in and around Jerusalem, 62 in the West Bank, 29 in the Golan and 25 in the Gaza Strip and the Sinai. The number of settlers in the occupied territories had surpassed 100,000, and the land seized by the Israeli authorities, either for the establishment of settlements or for other stated reasons, covered 27% of the occupied West Bank (or roughly 1.5 million out of 5.5 million dunums) and the quasi-totality of the Golan Heights (1 dunum = 0.25 acre). The settlements are jointly financed by the Government, the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization.

UNDER THE LABOR GOVERNMENTS

The first Israeli settlement to be established in the 1967–occupied territories was Merom Golan in July 1967 in the Golan Heights. This settlement and the first West Bank settlement, Kfar Etzion (September 1967, in the Hebron region), were created through the private enterprise of groups of ardent nationalists. However, the Eshkol government soon gave them its blessing and accordingly embarked on its own settlement programme. In deference to world public opinion, the primary justification advanced for the establishment of settlements was that of security, and most of the settlements from this period were first established as military camps by a paramilitary group, the **Nahal** (an acronym for "The Pioneer Fighting Group"). An indication of Israel's real long-term interests in permanent civilian implantation is given by the fact that of the 45 Nahal "outposts" created between 1967 and 1973, 35 had become civilian settlements by the October War. The military significance of the settlements was called into question by Moshe Dayan, Minister of Defence in the Eshkol government, and again under Golda Meir (11 March 1969 – 3 June 1974). In a statement on 29 December 1968, Dayan minimized the importance of the settlements from the point of view of security, while emphasizing their permanent status and their decisive weight as political *faits accomplis.* In 1970 a serious attempt was made to implement the **Allon Plan,** drawn up by Deputy Premier Yigael Allon for the creation of a "security belt" of settlements and main roads running up the Jordan Valley. This plan envisaged the annexation of a third of the West Bank, while keeping open the possibility of a



Map issued by U.N. showing Israeli settlements in the 1967-occupied territories.

regional accord with Jordan. Meanwhile, under the inspiration of Dayan and Israel Galili, minister without porfolio, large scale urban settlement projects were started near Hebron (Kiryat Arba, 1970) and in the northern Sinai (Yamit, 1973). The shock produced in Israel by the 1973 October War checked but did not halt the settlement drive. By the end of the Labor decade more than **90 settlements** had been established.

UNDER THE LIKUD GOVERNMENT

In June 1977 the Likud government came to power under the premiership of Menahem Begin, whose policy statements made it clear that he favored the establishment of settlements: he affirmed the right of every Jew to settle in the occupied territories, which he termed "the liberated territories of Judea and Samaria." The Likud avoided signing any commitment not to establish settlements in the occupied territories during the various stages of negotiations with Egypt. In neither the Camp David agreements of 17 September 1977, nor the peace treaty with Egypt of 26 March 1979, did Israel undertake any more than to desist from building new settlements in the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan for a three month period after Camp David, and to dismantle the Sinai settlements.

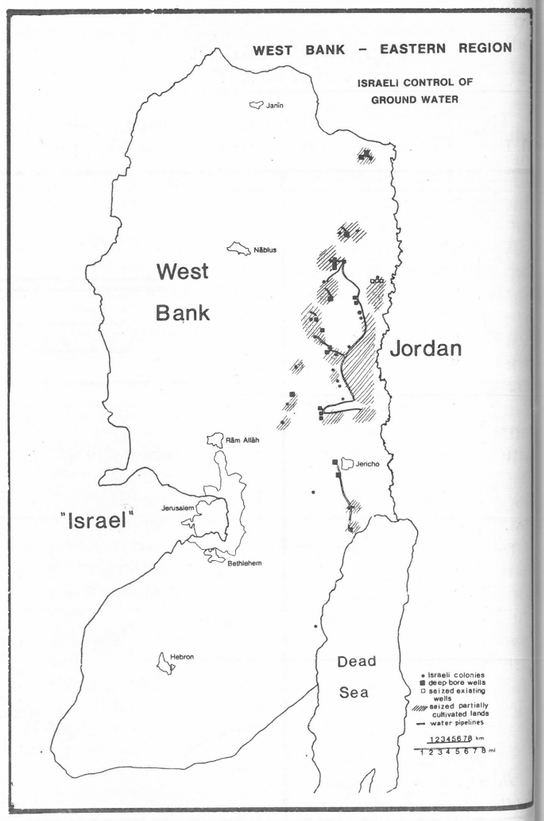
The Likud, despite both the public opposition of the USA and Egypt and differences of opinion within the Israeli Cabinet, has worked towards the implementation of large-scale settlement projects, among them that of Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon. Sharon's plan, which focuses on the West Bank, aims at criss-crossing the region settlements and connecting roads, thereby isolating the Palestinian demographic concentrations. Complementary to Sharon's plan is the plan of the Minister of Defence, Ezer Weizman, which envisages the establishment of six strategically sited large-scale urban centres. The government's settlement policy has often been carried out with the assistance of the extremist religious nationalist group, the Gush Emunim. Differences on the ground, which have led to members of the group being evicted by the army from illegal sites, have not altered the basic coincidence of interest between the group and the government. Occupations of sites by Gush Emunim (notably Elon Moreh on 21 September 1978 and 1-9 January 1979, and some 40 sites in the West Bank on 15 October 1979) are political acts designed to put pressure on the government. In fact, more than 20 of the Gush Emunim's settlements in the West Bank have been authorized since the Likud came to power.

THE WATER: PALESTINIAN THIRST FOR INDEPENDENCE

BY SHEILA RYAN

(Sheila Ryan is a leading member of the Palestine Solidarity Committee in New York City. Her article is reprinted in full from the "Guardian" [New York], September 26, 1979.)

The banana and citrus groves around the Palestinian village of Al Auja in the Jordan Valley are dying. Usually, even on the hottest, driest days of summer, when temperatures soar above 100 degrees, these fruit trees are irrigated to a bright green in contrast to the brown desolation surrounding them. The citrus and bananas had provided a decent living for farmers here, most of them small holders, some 10 miles north of the Dead Sea in the lowest region of the earth. But now the irrigation canals are parched and cracked; the farmers of Al Auja are among the latest victims of the Israeli government's water policies, which discriminate against Palestinian farmers in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip in favor of the development of Israeli settlements in the area.



What happened in the particular case of Al Auja is not difficult to trace, for alongside the irrigation canal which reaches back into the Jordanian foothills to the spring which watered this land, is a new 6-inch water pipe, installed to irrigate the fields of nearby Israeli settlements. The pipe is cool to the touch and murmurs softly with the sound of running water. Underneath the ground is a larger pipe, 16 inches, which also supplies water to the Israeli settlements. These pipes are fed by two deep bore wells, with two pumping stations equipped with electric generators and diesel pumps, noisily sucking the water to the surface at about 250 cubic meters an hour. Only a few hundred yards separate the well from the Al Auja spring, and a third deep bore well sunk by the Israelis is a short distance away behind a low hill. The Al Auja spring is now dry.

The obvious conclusion is that the Israeli pumping has lowered the water table so far that the Al Auja spring dried up. An expert witness testified before the UN Security Council Commission on Settlement by Israel last May that "the outflow of the Al Auja spring which is on the average 11 million cubic meters per year is now down to a trickle. Informed hydrologists link this drastic reduction in the outflow of the Al Auja spring to three Israeli wells dug on the side of the spring."

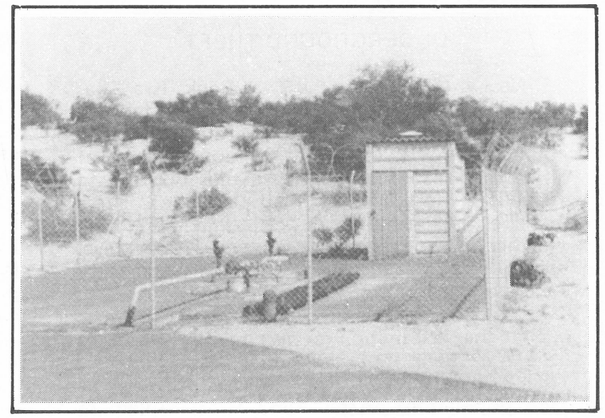
An Israeli military government official compared the drying up of the spring to a drought in the region in 1962. But the Al Auja villagers scorn this explanation, recalling that even in the drought 17 years ago when the spring did dry up it was not until July or August; this year the usually swift flowing stream was a sluggish trickle by March and later completely disappeared.

EXCLUSIVE ISRAELI USE

One of the wells near Al Auja from which the Israelis are now pumping was initially drilled by the Jordanian government as part of a project to improve the water supply to neighboring villages. After seizing the West Bank from Jordan in 1967, the Israeli government completed the well and installed the pump. The water from this well – and from the two others which are believed to have dried up the spring – are now for the exclusive use of Israeli setters. The loss of irrigation first killed the bananas of Al Auja, shriveling some 375 acres to ugly brown stumps, bearing here and there a grotesque black fruit. Only some 35 acres could be salvaged where farmers were fortunate enough to have supplemental private wells. Now the citrus groves, about 100 acres, have also suffered irreversible damage, their branches full of pale brown leaves; never again will they bear fruuit. The annual loss of income has been reliably estimated at $2.75 million, and of course the farmers have also lost the investment in the trees. In addition, Al Auja farmers used to plant three crops a year of melons and vegetables on 500 acres with a new drip irrigation system and another 500 acres watered by traditional ditches; now only the winter crop can be planted, for only then will the rains come.

While the citrus and bananas are dying and the summer crops of irrigated vegetables go unplanted, grapes, bananas and other crops thrive in the new Israeli settlements of Na'aran and Yitav, a kibbutz built on 750 acres of land confiscated from the Al Auja villagers. Palestinian women and children of the area carry jerry cans on donkey back to draw water from the two taps which the Israeli authorities opened in order to provide limited quantities of water for home consumption; meanwhile, a young kibbutznik at Yitav shrugs her shoulders and says, "Water problem? No, we have plenty here, as you can see." And indeed, the lawns of Yitav are growing green under the spray of sprinklers. At Na'aran a swimming pool is under construction; pending its completion the settlers swim at the pool of another settlement further up the Jordan Valley.

The Al Auja villagers have requested permis-



Fenced-off Israel pump diverts water from Palestinian wells in the Gaza.

sion to drill a communal well to reestablish a water supply, but the military government has not issued a permit. "They offered a permit for a private well to a man who has no money to dig one," said a worker for a voluntary agency, very familiar with the problems of West Bank farmers. "And they offered another permit to a man who already has two wells and doesn't need a third. That's basically just a coverup. What these people need is a community well. They have the funds available for it; these have already been promised from Jordan. So why does the Israeli government refuse the permit? Because they want the fields of Al Auja to die and those of the settlements to flourish."

The saga of Al Auja is no mere sad story being played out in a remote rift of the earth's surface. People within the occupied areas are familiar with the situation — despite the effort of the Israeli government to suppress the news by, for example, censoring an editorial on the issue from the nationalist daily Al Fajr, published in East Jerusalem. The story of Al Auja is but one of the countless reasons why the people of the West Bank are virtually unanimously convinced that the "autonomy talks" now in progress among Israeli, Egyptian and U.S. delegations can produce nothing constructive.

A CRIMINAL POLICY OF STRANGULATION: ISRAELI WATER THEFT IN THE WEST BANK

(The following information on Israeli water theft in the occupied West Bank has been published by the Swiss magazine "Tell", on November 8, 1979. The situation in the occupied Gaza Strip is quite similar.)

For years Israel has pursued a classical colonialist policy in the West Bank by exploiting its most precious natural resource, the water, on an excessive scale.

The water supply in the West Bank almost entirely depends on rainfall. Most of it flows into a huge natural ground reservoir underneath the western hills of the West Bank. Together with supplies from the Jordan River and some smaller rivulets the area annually has about 850 million m^3 of water at its disposal. Of this, however, only 620 million m^3 can be used without causing complications.

UNDERGROUND THEFT

Near the border of the West Bank, Israel has drilled deep wells since 1967 which tap the underground water reservoir of the West Bank. 500 million m^3, i.e., nearly 85% of the total of the West Bank's reserves, are thus diverted to Israeli territory [48-occupied Palestine]. These reserves are exploited to the maximum; any further pumping would put the water level below sea level and thus make the water salty and useless.

Of the 120 million m^3 left for the supply of the West Bank itself, 15% of it is consumed by the 8,000 Jewish settlers (about one percent of the population). After 1967 Israel drilled 24 deep wells in the West Bank for the Jewish colonies. Since these wells have a depth of up to 500 m, in several cases they made the considerably shallower Arab wells and springs become salty or run dry.

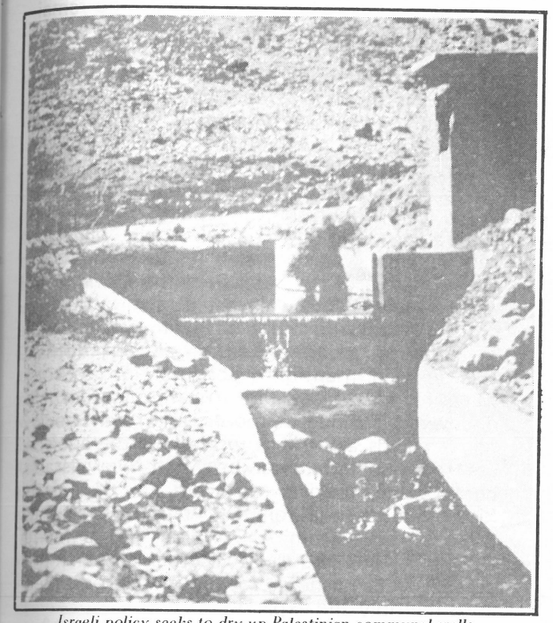
But even this is not enough: If the Jewish settlers are to achieve their announced aim of irrigating 53,000 dunums (about 48 km^2) of land, they will have to triple their water consumption.

POLICY OF DRY WELLS

The Palestinian peasants have to watch powerlessly as their wells and springs slowly become salty and finally dry up completely. Since 1967 the Israeli military authorities have forbidden them from drilling any new wells. In the western part of the West Bank even the drilling of wells for drinking water is prohibited. Existing Arab wells have been equipped with measuring devices which control water consumption. Anybody who exceeds a certain limit is punished. Likewise, Palestinian farmers are not permitted to increase the capacity of existing wells. In some cases, Arabs have even been prevented from bringing in spare parts for wells that have become defective. Wells of peasants who own land in the West Bank but have been forced to live outside since the Israeli occupation have been seized by the Israeli authorities.

Under these circumstances, it is quite obvious that Arab agriculture stagnates. According to a UN report, the agricultural share of the West Bank's GNP has dropped from 35% to 28% in the years 1968 to 1976.

Part of the "autonomy" planned by Begin for the West Bank and Gaza would be Israeli control over the water resources of that region. Who is surprised that the Palestinians reject the offer?



Israeli policy seeks to dry up Palestinian communal wells.

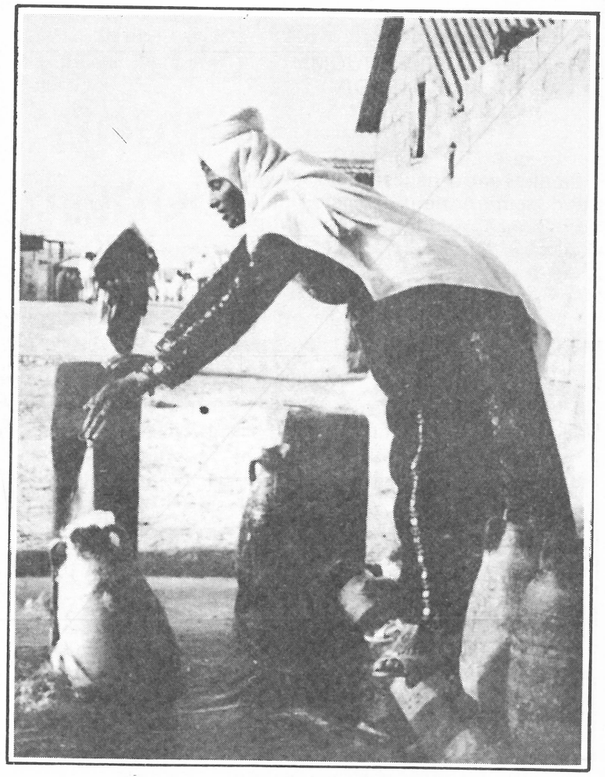
"Never mind autonomy: what about sovereignty? " said Karim Khalaf, mayor of the West Bank city of Ramallah in a recent interview. "Whose will that be? "

One of the differences between the "autonomy" plan for the West Bank and Gaza Strip to which the U.S., Israeli and Egyptian governments are officially committed and the sovereign independent state which the Palestine Liberation Organization — and every politically credible figure on the West Bank — demands is the question of control over resources. Israeli Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon has declared that under "autonomy" Israel must have the last word on water usage in the West Bank. He justified this specification by noting that 30% of (pre-1967) Israel's water comes from the West Bank, a figure which West Bank hydrologists confirm. Mustapha Nusseiba of the West Bank Water Authority explains that 30% of the water supply in Israel proper is derived from ground water, and that the catchment area which feeds these wells along the coastal plain is nearly entirely located in the West Bank, along the Judean anticline.

For that reason, the Israeli military government has refused to permit the digging of any wells along the western slope of the West Bank mountain range, even in cases where municipalities had projects in progress to ease the shortage of water for domestic consumption. While some new wells for drinking water have been permitted elsewhere, virtually no new agricultural wells for Palestinian use have been permitted anywhere in the West Bank since 1967.

WEST BANK WATER

The water resources of the West Bank are being exploited not only for the underground aquifer which feeds the Israeli coastal plane, but also to supply the settlements which Israel has established within the West Bank itself. According to statistics furnished by the military government, in 1977-78 about one third of the water drawn from wells in the West Bank came from wells bored for Israeli settlements. This figure is particularly striking when considered in relation to the miniscule proportion of the West Bank population which the settlers constitute: approximately 1%. Palestinian farmers are deeply concerned about the effect that the Israeli wells are having on their own water sources. Twelve Palestinian wells have dried up under occupation: the villages of Bardala, Ain al Aayda and Kardala for instance, have seen their springs and wells dry up entirely since deep-bore



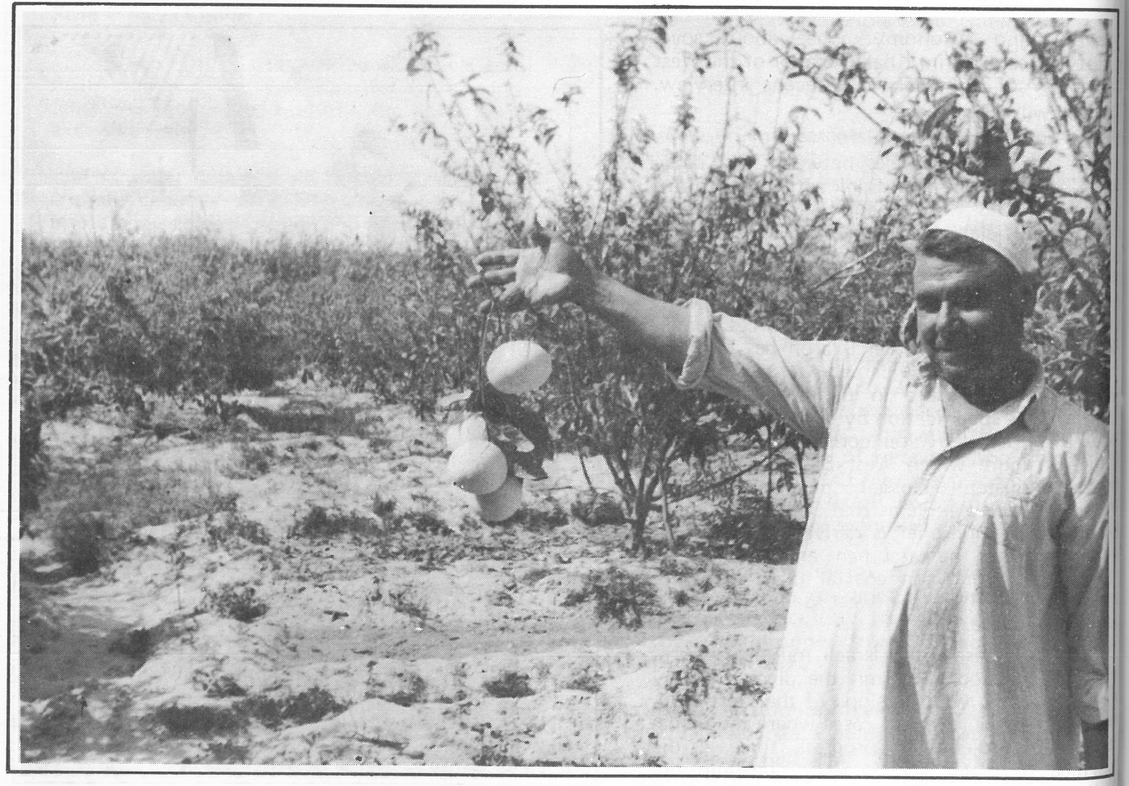
The well at Al Auja, occupied West Bank

THE LAND: ZIONIST COLONIZATION AFTER CAMP DAVID

wells began pumping nearby to supply Israeli settlements.

The Israeli settlers are now practicing intensive agriculture in wide areas of the Jordan Valley, which functions as a vast natural hothouse to grow out of season vegetables and flowers for winter export to Europe. A knowledgable Palestinian economist commented on a recent trip through the region that the settlements now control at least 70 % of the cultivable land in the Valley north of Jericho. Some 90% of the land — some 30 square miles — was taken from private owners, either from refugees from the Israeli bombers and panic of the 1967 war or even more frequently, from farmers who remained in their homes.

Now even farming on the land that was left to them is threatened. The agricultural ecology which the settlers are destroying by their water usage is of very long standing: when a Palestinian peasant in the valley is asked for how long the spring in the foothills have watered the fields in the valley, he shrugs and replies "min zaman" ("for a very long time"). And, in fact, when the new concrete water channels — now dry — were installed to carry the water from the spring to Al Auja in the 1960, they replaced dirt ditches probably centuries old. Just north of Al Auja, for instance, a farmer uses an ancient Roman resevoir used in antiquity for irrigation, to hold water for his modern drip irrigation system. He discovered and dug the pool out in recent years, but it stands as a silent witness to the ancient use to these springs for irrigation. Now Israeli buses bring tourists to swim in the pool. Meanwhile the "autonomy" talks limp along, villagers move from Al Auja to seek a living elsewhere and the Israeli settlements in the Jordan Valley and throughout the occupied areas multiply and expand.



The depletion of the water resources threatens Palestinian crops.

OCCUPATION DIARY

OCCUPATION DIARY SHAKA'A'S RELEASE: A PALESTINIAN VICTORY

At last, the Israeli authorities succumbed to world-wide criticism and strong Palestinian protests both inside and outside Palestine and reversed their decision to deport Bassam Shaka'a, Mayor of Nablus. On December 5, Mayor al-Shaka'a returned to Nablus in triumph. Several thousand people turned out to witness his triumphal return to Nablus, welcoming him with shouted slogans and a shower of rose petals. The city was decorated with coloured lights and olive branches. The people were shouting: "This is a victory for the Palestinians; this is a victory for the commandos".

As soon as Mayor al-Shaka'a arrived in Nablus, he headed directly to the municipality building where he addressed the assembled masses and pledged to continue the struggle until the realization of the national aims of the Palestinian people." As long as there is an occupation you can expect resistance".

Mayor al-Shaka'a had been imprisoned for 25 days, since November 11. Strikes were observed in the whole of the West Bank and demonstrations were staged in most cities and towns of the occupied territories.

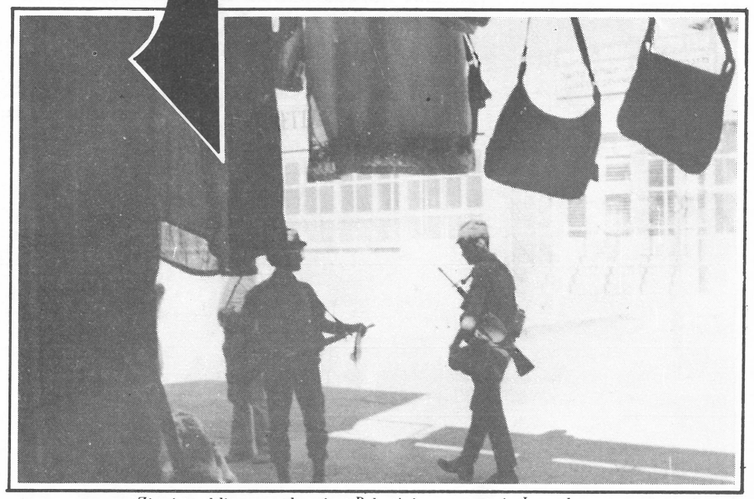
Shaka'a's release is a victory for Palestinian national unity inside Palestine. The Palestinian people stand with the mayors in one rank supporting the PLO and facing the aggressive measures of the Zionist authorities.

ANTI-SETTLEMENT RALLIES IN WEST BANK

Members of municipal and village councils on December 17 held two big rallies in Ramallah and Nablus protesting against Israeli settlement policy, and especially the establishment of a new settlement on the lands of Deir al-Hatab, a village near Nablus. The participants issued a communique reaffirming the collaboration of the Israeli authorities with the Gush Emunim movement, and declaring that Palestinian land, both public and private, belongs to the Palestinian people. It should be noted that the Israeli authorities had prevented the Mayor of Gaza and members of the municipal council of that city from going to the West Bank to participate in these rallies.

On December 21, Israeli forces encircled Deir al-Hatab and prevented hundreds of Palestinian villagers from entering Deir al-Hatab to attend prayers there. The march was headed by Nablus Mayor Bassam al-Shaka'a and other mayors and national figures. The Palestinians held their prayers in the public square near one of the Israeli checkpoints erected at the entrance of the village. Palestinian youths sang Palestinian nationalist songs from nearby hilltops as Israeli soldiers turned back the mayors.

The citizens of Beit Amer on December 20 held a press conference in Hebron, in which they exposed the aggressive, expansionist Israeli policies of land seizure and the establishment of settlements. In the conference, the Palestinian citizens confirmed their attachment to their land and their determination to resist aggressive Israeli measures.



Zionist soldiers guard against Palestinian protests in Jerusalem.

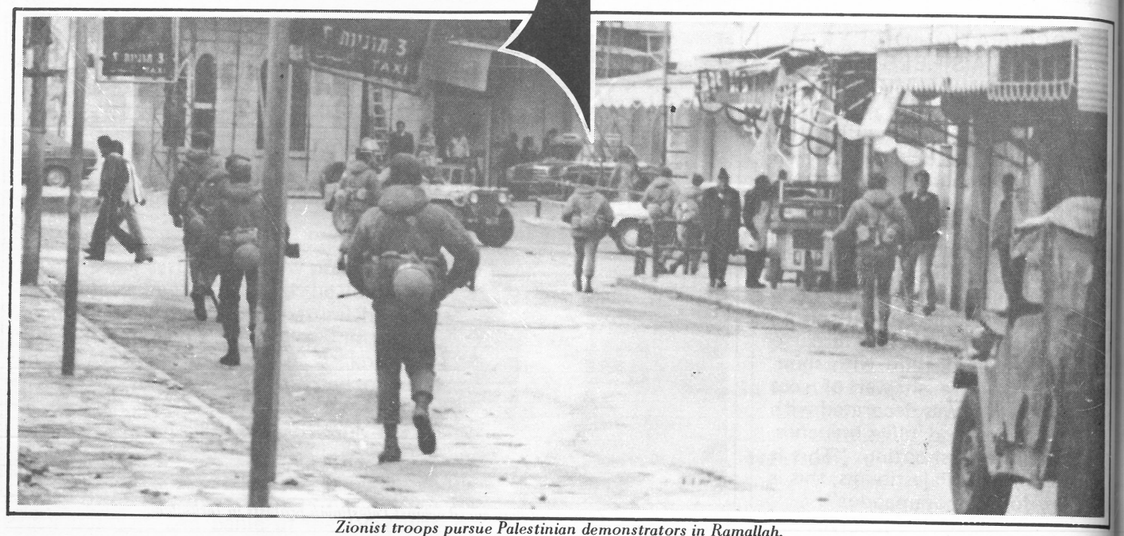
WEST-BANKERS MOURN ABU SAFWAT: VIOLENT CLASHES WITH ISRAELIS

On December 18, a mourning procession headed from Halhoul to the village of Beit Ammar, hometown of the martyr Abu Safwat, who was assassinated in Cyprus by the Israeli intelligence (see page 10 of the current issue). The demonstrators clashed with the Israeli forces, which tried to prevent them from reaching the village by throwing tear gas grenades and opening fire to disperse the demonstrators. Friday December 21 was declared a day of mourning in the occupied territories, during which prayers for the memory of the two militant Palestinians killed in Cyprus on December 15 would be recited in all of the West Bank and East Jerusalem mosques.

ISRAELI GUNMEN RAID HALHOUL

On the evening of Dec. 18, Jewish settlers dressed as soldiers and carrying submachine guns barged into a grocery store on the main street of Halhoul. They smashed

OCCUPATION DIARY



Zionist troops pursue Palestinian demonstrators in Ramallah.

glass, tossed merchandise around and cursed and beat four Palestinians.

Protesting against the Halhoul aggression, a popular demonstration started on December 20 in Ramallah and headed towards Bir Zeit, chanting anti-occupation slogans. They clashed with the Israeli forces, who opened fire on them. One student was shot. The demonstrators then attacked the soldiers who suffered many casualties. Many students were arrested and some were hospitalized.

TROOPS STORM BIR ZEIT UNIVERSITY

On Saturday, December 22, other demonstrations flared up in Bir Zeit. The entrances to the town were blocked by the demonstrators, who clashed with Israeli troops. The soldiers chased students onto the campus and smashed windows and doors when the students locked themselves in classrooms. Dr. Gabi Baramki, acting president of the Palestinian university, said: "They hit several teachers, including myself, with their batons".

Hundreds of Palestinian citizens demonstrated in Ramallah on Dec. 25 to support the students and teachers of Bir Zeit, shouting revolutionary and national slogans, condemning the Israeli occupation and its aggressive measures and affirming their support for the PLO. The Palestinian citizens hurled stones and bottles at a bus of Israeli soldiers and injured a number of them. One of the checkpoints which the Israeli forces erected at the entrances to Ramallah stopped Bassam al-Shaka'a and Ibrahim Tawil, representatives of several national unions, organizations and institutions and a number of other Palestinian citizens who came to participate in the rally. The reports added that the two mayors were subjected to severe provocation at the hands of the Israeli forces.

The students of Bethlehem University went on strike on December 27 in support of Bir Zeit students. Residents of Duhaisha Camp near Bethlehem demonstrated and clashed with Rabbi Meir Kahane's group and the Israeli forces who besieged the camp, erecting military checkpoints at its main entrances.

WEST BANK MAYORS REJECT EGYPTIAN LIAISON OFFICES

Mayors of the occupied West Bank rejected the proposal made by the Egytian regime to open liaison offices in the West Bank and Gaza. On December 18, Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij said: "He (Butros Ghali) will not find a single Palestinian willing to cooperate with him". Halhoul Mayor Muhammad Milhem added his voice to that of the Bethlehem Mayor, adding that the extent of the Palestinians' opposition to these offices cannot be predicted.

PALESTINIAN EDUCATION DELEGATION VISITS MOSOW

Dr. Hanna Nasser, Director of the Bir Zeit University, and Dr. Ramzi Reyhani, Dean of the same university, paid a ten-day visit to Moscow between November 21 and December 1 at the invitation of the Soviet Friendship and Solidarity Society with the Arab People of Palestine. During their visit the Palestinian educators discussed the education problems of the occupied territories. The delegation visited Leningrad, and held meetings with Rectors of the Moscow and Leningrad State Universities and other representatives of scientific organisations.

MILITANT PROTESTS AGAINST ISRAELI TAKEOVER OF JERUSALEM POWER CO.

On December 31, Israel moved to erase one of the symbols of the Palestinian economy by announcing plans to expropriate the East Jerusalem Electric Co., an Arab-run concern that has supplied power to much of the West Bank since 1928, when it received the concession from the British authorities in Palestine.

Israeli Energy Minister Yitzhak Modai announced that effective January 1, 1981, after Israel pays "compensation", it will eliminate remaining Arab control over the distribution of electricity. The company, with 400 employees, distributes electricity to about 350,000 Palestinian inhabitants of East Jerusalem and the Bethlehem, Ramallah and Jericho areas of the West Bank, in addition to 15,000 Jewish settlers on the outskirts of Jerusalem and nearby settlements. Although the stated reasons for the decision were "technical" and "economic", the move is nothing but a further Zionist step towards annexation of the occupied territories.

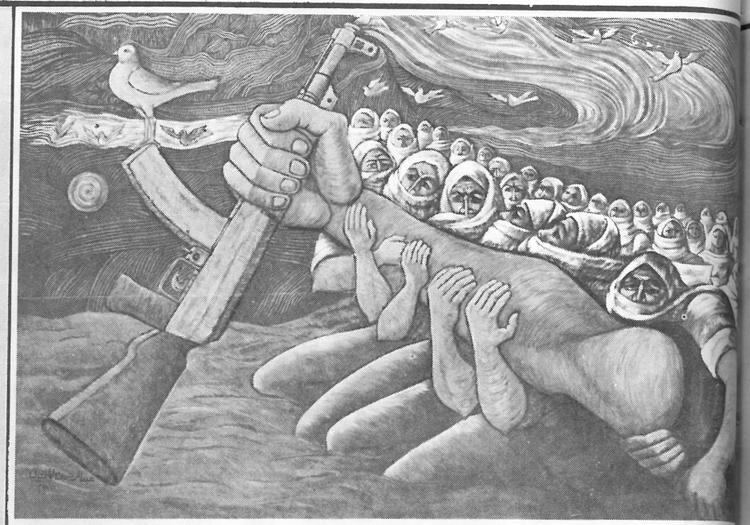
Our people in the occupied territories responded with a wave of denunciations and condemnations. A large number of nationalist figures, organizations, popular unions and institutions held a meeting in Jerusalem on November 1. They denounced the Israeli decision, describing it as a political resolution against the Palestinian identity, and the historical and cultural aspects of the city of Jerusalem. The Director of the company, Anwar Nuseibeh, denounced the Israeli decision. "It has political implications. It has implications for our very existence as a people." Nuseibeh declared: "We do not accept being bought out. We do not agree to sell our concession. We will protest in the strongest possible terms." The Director added that the Israeli authorities have for a long time been putting pressure on the company in an attempt to force it into selling its concessions.

The Mayors of the occupied West Bank explained that the real motive behind the Israeli decision is to cut Jerusalem off from the rest of the West Bank by cutting their only material link. The Mayors also affirmed their intention to use al methods to prevent the authorities from implementing this decision. The union of the company's 450 workers described the decision as unjust and political, and as endangering their future and the future of their families.

PLO RAPS THE ISRAELI TAKE-OVER

In related news, PLO spokesperson Abdel Muhsin Abu Maizar termed the Israeli decision "an aggressive act hostile to the interests of the Palestinian people. This decision will enable Israeli occupation forces to limit the development operation in East Jerusalem." He added that the PLO will take "all the necessary measures to stop this crime."

ARMED RESISTANCE



THE REVOLUTION IS PROTECTED BY ITS ARMED MASSES

ثورة تحميها جماهيرها المسلحة

Armed resistance against the enemy who occupies territories of other nations is a legitimate right recognized by all countries of the world. This right is also included in both the Geneva Convention and the United Nations Charter. European armed resistance during World War II against the Nazi regime gained international support which, later, became an international consensus permitting the use of force and armed resistance until the liberation of occupied territories. The Palestinian people, whose lands are being occupied by the Israeli enemy, possess this right and are waging an armed struggle to liberate their occupied territories and emancipate their countrymen from the bondage and tyranny of the Zionist occupiers.

The Palestinian armed resistance in the occupied territories intensified in 1979 as a response to a number of developments, especially the Camp David agreements and the sham autonomy scheme for the West Bank and Gaza Strip. These ignore the inalienable Palestinian rights of self-determination and establishing a Palestinian state and are designed to permit the annexation of these two areas to the Zionist state.

Another major reason for armed resistance inside the occupied territories, as well as armed struggle outside Palestine, is Zionist intransigence. This intransigence has been bolstered by U.S. President Carter's demand that the PLO recognize Security Council Resolution 242 of 1967, which treats the Palestinian people only as refugees, and the entire Palestinian-Zionist conflict as a mere border conflict, ignoring the question of self-determination and establishing of a Palestinian state. Other reasons for Palestinian resistance include the ongoing usurpation and confiscation of Arab lands, the establishment of Zionist settlements on them, the aggression against holy places and shrines, notably the continuing Zionisation of the Ibrahimi Mosque in East Jerusalem, Israeli expulsions, displacements, demolition of Arab homes and the razing of villages and arbitrary arrests and detentions, exemplified by the case of Mr. Bassam al-Shaka'a, Mayor of Nablus.

Ever since the two-stage Israeli conquest of our country in 1948 and 1967 our people, suffering from the yoke of Israeli military rule and maltreatment, especially inside detention cells and prisons, have resorted to armed resistance to rescue their brothers, to liberate themselves, to regain their usurped national rights and to reassert their lost identity. They are also denied political and civil rights and suffer from persecution as well as exploitation of their economy, manpower and resources. In addition, they are exposed to cultural and educational pressure by Israel's closing down of their institutions, schools and universities.

Palestinian armed resistance has also been in response to savage Israeli attacks against Palestinian civilian camps in South Lebanon.

CONFRONTING THE GROWING REPRESSION

Growing resistance in the occupied territories during 1979 encountered a new wave of Israeli repression and collective punishment. The Zionist authorities also stepped up their terror and reprisal measures against the Palestinians in these territories to crush their resistance: arrests, curfews, demolition of Arab houses and deportations were used to no avail to quell our people's revolt, and to put an end to commando operations. Despite all these arbitrary measures, the Palestinians are determined to continue their resistance, which they have vowed to escalate until victory.

Israeli reserve Brigadier R. Ze'evi told the Israeli daily "Yediot Aharonot" on November 8, 1979, that the operations executed by Palestinian commandos inside Israel had intensified and achieved a higher degree of success. The Brigadier admitted that "the Palestinian commandos have developed their military techniques, and their operations against Israeli targets inside Israel are becoming increasingly successful." He also said he expected an increase in these operations in the future, and warned that Israel should prepare itself to face such an increase. This, he said, was due to the speed with which Palestinians have learned from their past mistakes. The Brigadier also added that Israel should learn to live with these operations, since it is very unlikely that they could be stopped by any Israeli military action. Statistics compiled by Israeli security authorities in 1979 also revealed that 20% of our commandos who carried out these military operations "hold university degrees and 70% have completed their high school education."

Palestinian commandos have staged 789 operations inside Israel during the past three years, according to Rafi Eytan, adviser on commando activities to Israeli Premier Begin ("Reuter" news agency, October 11, 1979).

According to a Palestinian military spokesman in Damascus, our Palestinian commandos are known to have carried out more than 220 operations inside the occupied territories during 1979, with further acts of armed resistance unaccounted for.

This Palestinian resistance will go on, as it is the only option left for the Palestinian people until the tyrannical rule of Zionism is terminated and the Palestinian state is established. Only in this way can peace prevail in the Middle East. The Camp David agreements and the autonomy scheme for the West Bank and Gaza are only a recipe for further bloodshed.

EDUCATION UNDER OCCUPATION

Slogan at Bir Zeit: "By education and continuous struggle we will achieve liberation"

In their struggle against foreign occupation of their homeland, the Palestinian people have had to confront successive occupiers' attempts to deny them the education they are entitled to. Israeli repression against Palestinian educational institutions in occupied Palestine in 1979 drew worldwide attention to the plight of Palestinian education, but in fact this repression is only the latest chapter in a squalid story which began during the years of the British mandate in Palestine.

BRITISH DISCRIMINATION AGAINST PALESTINIANS

Britain seized control of Palestine after World War I in violation of wartime agreements with Arab leaders. Britain was determined to establish a "Jewish national home" in Palestine at the expense of the Palestinians who already lived there, and thus assisted Zionist immigration and colonization efforts. Palestinian Arabs were discriminated against in all ways by the British government as the latter showered its munificence on its Zionist proteges. Arab education was not exempt from this discrimination. Up to

80 per cent of the large network of schools and technical and agricultural institutes established by the Zionist organization for Jews only were financed by the mandatory government. But the public education provided for the Arab inhabitants of Palestine was "on [a] primitive level," according to a Zionist economic study published in 1946 (R. Nathan, O. Gass and D. Greamer, *Palestine: Problem and Promise*). In the 850 Arab villages and towns of Palestine there were in 1941/2 only 404 Arab public schools and only 20-25 per cent of the 5 to 15 year old Arab children could attend school. This was at a time when 90 per cent of Jewish children of the same age group were in school.

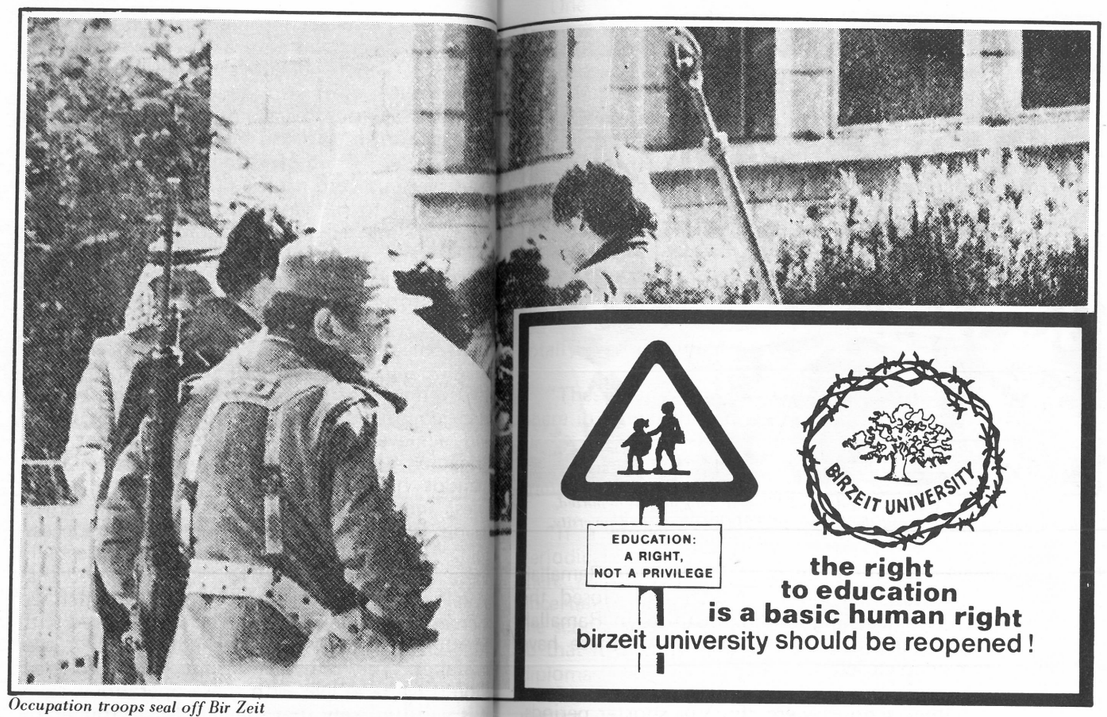
The mandatory government's Director of Education reported that in Arab public schools, "classes are generally so crowded as to 'disorganize' teaching and to constitute a menace to health. The training of teachers is on so miserably inadequate a scale as to lay no basis for future progress. Moreover, there is no real scholarship system to enable gifted children of Arab parents to cultivate their talents."

The Jewish population of less than half a million had 62,000 children in Jewish community schools with 2,827 teachers in 1941. In the same year the Arab population of over a million had only 56,600 pupils in public schools with 1,465 teachers. Thus Arab children had only one teacher for 38.8 pupils while Jewish children had one teacher for every 22.2 pupils. The British and the Zionists saw to it that the educational system was strictly segregated, and Arab public school buildings and equipment were of a much lower standard than Jewish school buildings and equipment.

THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF 1948

In May 1948 the British left Palestine, having acted as midwives for the newly-born Zionist "State of Israel." In a series of brutal military campaigns in 1948 the Zionist forces seized the greater part of Palestine and expelled some 840,000 Palestinians from their homes. These took refuge in those parts of Palestine which remained outside of Zionist control (the West Bank and Gaza Strip) and in neighboring Arab countries. Only 130,000 Palestinians remained within the "State of Israel," and they were subject to an uncompromising military government which preserved the apartheid-like educational system of the mandatory era.

In 1949 the Israeli government adopted free and compulsory elementary education for all children, Jews and non-Jews, and Palestinian Arab schools became official schools. A special branch of the Ministry of Education, headed by a Jewish director, was set up to see to it that official programs were implemented in Arab schools, public and private. This segregated school system has survived until today. The proportion of Arab children attending elementary schools increased to 66 per cent in 1963/4 and 75 per cent in 1970/71, but this improvement was due mainly to the extensive network of private confessional and missionary Arab schools. These Arab private schools – in contrast to Jewish private schools – receive but little assistance from the Ministry of Education.



Occupation troops seal off Bir Zeit

The standard of Arab education is at all levels highly unsatisfactory – below that of Jewish education, below that of other Arab states, even below that in Palestine under the mandate. School buildings, equipment, suitable textbooks in Arabic, qualified teachers, libraries and reading rooms are all lacking. In 1966/7 for example, half the teachers in Arab elementary schools were not qualified. One reason for this state of affairs is that teachers in Arab schools are appointed less for their qualifications and ability than for the acceptability of their political views to the government. Moreover, while Jewish teachers enjoy rights of tenure, the Arab teacher remains in a constant state of insecurity: he or she may be discharged at the slightest sign of opposition to the denigration, distortion and neglect of Arab history and culture that passes for education in offical school programs in Arab schools.

The low level of elementary education has meant that secondary school standards have also declined as the high rate of failure of Arab pupils in the secondary school certificate examination shows. The total number of Arab holders of General Secondary School Certificates for the period 1954/5 to 1970/1 was 1,903 compared to 105,868 Jewish holders of these certificates. Although constituting about 11 per cent of the "State of Israel's" population, Arabs make up only one per cent of the country's secondary school graduates.

Only 171 Arabs received university education in Israel in 1963/4 and 607 in 1971. Arabs now constitute about two per cent of university students. Technical and vocational training for Arabs in Israel is also minimal.

THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF 1967

By its aggression of June 1967 Zionist Israel brought the rest of Palestine under its control, plus parts of Syria and Egypt. Palestinian students in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, too, began to feel the heavy hand of the Israeli military occupation.

In Arab East Jerusalem Israel replaced the Jordanian curriculum with the Israeli one. This step drew Jerusalem students away from the Arabic curriculum and prevented them from enrolling in Arab universities. Although other schools in the West Bank continued to teach the Jordanian curriculum, Israel changed syllabuses and censored and altered textbooks, especially those dealing with history and social sciences. The study of Jewish history was made obligatory while Palestinian and Arab history and the Palestinian and Arab cultural heritage were deliberately ignored.

The Israeli authorities banned the use of 55 textbooks in the West Bank including three Islamic religious books and 22 Arabic language and literature books. Punishment for defying this order was set at one year's imprisonment or a fine of IL2500 or both. West Bank students and teachers demonstrated against this ban and for a time stopped attending school. In the Gaza Strip, 70 out of 78 textbooks were banned.

These and other Israeli acts led the 18th session of the UNESCO General Conference in November 1974 to call for extensive supervision of education and culture in the territories occupied by Israel. The Conference invited "the Director-General to exercise full supervision over education and cultural interests in the occupied territories and to cooperate with the Arab states concerned to insure the population of the occupied territories their full rights of culture and education." Like so many other resolutions this one was also defied by the Israeli government.

BIR ZEIT: A FOCUS OF ZIONIST REPRESSION

The two-month closure of Bir Zeit University in summer 1979 is the most dramatic example of how the 12-year-old Israeli occupation is disrupting the education system in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. Palestinian educators are now concerned about the ability of Palestinian youth to receive a proper education in their own country.

Bir Zeit, the oldest and biggest indigenous Palestinian university, was shut down on the orders of the Israeli Military Governor on 2 May after a day of demonstrations about the shooting of a Bir Zeit student by an Israeli civilian from one of the Jewish settlements. Israeli soldiers besieged the campus near Ramallah, and hundreds of students had their identity cards confiscated indiscriminately. When they reported, as instructed, to Israeli military headquarters to collect the cards, some were beaten , and in the evening Bir Zeit was ordered shut.

On 4 June, the Israeli war Minister was questioned in the Knesset about the closure of Bir Zeit, although such action has become almost routine for many schools and colleges in the occupied areas. He said the institution was a place of "hostile political activity", a vague phrase, (like "security reasons", the other Israeli favourite).

In the context of Israel's military occupation, however, it is sufficient reason to close schools, fine and jail students and teachers, and even, as happened recently in the West Bank, nullify the accreditation of students who enrol in private schools after they have been ordered by the occupation authorities to attend a government school far away from their home town. In another recent incident, the Israelis prevented Nablus high school graduates from going abroad for their university studies for the 1979-80 academic year.

MORE UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS CLOSED

The closing of Bir Zeit has received the most international attention, but is only one small instance of Israeli measures against Palestinian schools. For example, between February and May of 1979, the military governor of the West Bank took a number of similar actions.

He closed Bethlehem University (730 students) for four days and 50 students were arrested when an army unit entered the campus. He sent a team of senior Israeli officers to Bir Zeit University on 3 May with a search order stating, "There is reason to suspect that in the campus there are objects which are subject to seizure." Nothing was found.

He closed Bethlehem boys' secondary school (630 pupils) on 7 May, closed Ramallah boys' secondary school (500 pupils) on 11 March, closed the UNRWA women's vocational and teacher-training centre at Tireh, near Ramallah (650 students) on 12 March and closed the women's teaching-training institute in Ramallah (216 students) on 12 March. All these have remained closed.

Dr. Hanna Nasir (right), President of Bir Zeit until he was deported, holds a press conference at the UN to protest closure of the University.

Other schools were shut for shorter periods, like the UNRWA boys' preparatory school at Kalandia (800 pupils), which was shut down for eight weeks from 12 February, the Hisham Bin-Abdel-Malik boys' secondary school in Jericho (328 pupils), which was closed for five weeks from 5 March, and the boys' secondary school at Halhoul village (600 pupils), which was shut for four weeks from 13 March.

According to Mehdi Abdel-Hadi, Secretary-General of the two-year-old Council for Higher Education for the West Bank and Gaza, closing schools is the most direct and brutal form of Israeli interference in the education process.

But other, more subtle pressures make the task of providing education a daily struggle in the occupied areas, he told the London magazine *"The Middle East"* in an interview. There are Israeli regulations banning Arab periodicals and books from the libraries of Palestinian universities. Other regulations compel schools to pay customs duties and Israeli taxes on laboratory equipment or research material that used to be bought tax-free under Jordanian law. Others make possible the transfer of students and professors from local schools to more distant ones and prevent non-resident Palestinians or foreigners from getting work permits to teach at West Bank universities.

RESTRICTIONS AND BEATINGS

One college dean in the West Bank, who wanted to remain anonymous for fear of Israeli reprisals, told "The Middle East": "Under the best conditions, when schools are open and students have access to the campus, the functioning of universities is still hampered and restricted.

"It is common practice for the occupation authorities to set up military checkpoints at university gates, where students entering campus have to wait for several hours to pass through. Some will be asked to stand in the sun for half the day before being allowed to enter campus. Others may be arrested, and jailed or fined, in a totally arbitrary manner.

"These daily annoyances produce an atmosphere in which the practical business of holding classes on time becomes difficult, and the calm psychological attitude that a student needs to complete university studies is also destroyed.

"If a student cannot find the books and periodicals required for proper research work, there is tension among the faculty because of uncertainty about work permits and the end of the school year sees the universities closed down so that it is impossible to hold exams and issue diplomas, what kind of educational system can the Palestinian people look forward to in their own country? "

Similar problems also face primary and secondary schools. A study of education in West Bank government schools, recently published by Fathiya Said Nasru, of Bir Zeit University's Education and Psychology Department, concludes that: "In short, teachers are working under difficult conditions, students are going through an identity crisis; they receive their education in a chaotic atmosphere — beaten, jailed or even shot to death if they express their views in any kind of protest against occupation.

"Curriculum is changed and distorted to create a confused state of mind in the existence of the Palestinian children. Student enrolment is impaired by a heavy loss due to attrition. Drop-outs are increasing with time, and first-graders are decreasing. The question is: where will education in the West Bank go if Israeli occupation is to stay? "

	Palestinians	Israeli Jews
Opportunity for education	33%	100%
Illiterates over 14 years old	36%	9%
Owns a telephone	7%	52%
Owns a car	11.5%	28%
Owns a refrigerator	54%	98%
Teachers without qualifications working in the school system	43%	16%

Educational and economic differentials between Israeli Jews and Palestinians living in 1948 occupied Palestine. (Source: 1979 statistics by the Israeli "Henrietta Szold Institute" as published in the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung," November 11, 1979.)

LIBERATION A NECESSITY

Because of its fundamental antagonism to the Palestinian people, their history and their culture, Zionism will go on hindering and repressing Palestinian education for as long as it is able to do so. Thus the problem of Palestinian education can only be solved in the wider context of the struggle against Zionism and the Zionist occupation of Palestine. Once they establish their own independent state in their homeland, the Palestinian people will be able to overcome the obstacles to education put in their path by foreign occupiers through most of this century. So the liberation of Palestine will not just free a piece of land; it will also free the human potentials and resources of the Palestinian people.

Kalandia training school near Jerusalem — shut down for eight weeks in early 1979

SAMED:
AN ECONOMIC ARM OF THE PLO

Chairman Arafat with Abu Ala'a at Samed exhibition in early 1979

"The Sons of the Palestinian Martyrs Workshop Association" (Samed) is an economic branch of the PLO. It began with manufacturing and selling clothes, but after it moved to Lebanon from Jordan in 1971, following the onslaught against the Palestinian revolution in Jordan 1970, Samed began to increase and diversify its production by establishing new factories and workshops, now numbering more than 33 units. The main aim of setting up Samed was to prepare and employ children of the Palestinian martyrs as well as to guarantee a decent life and a better future for them. This stems from the fact that the Palestinian revolution is permanently committed to sustaining the families of Palestinian martyrs and securing for them training and medical care. Samed activities also extend to Arab and African countries. Samed now operates factories and possesses agricultural lands in certain friendly African countries. Indeed, Samed is a major element in the Palestinian revolution and plays an important role in the development of both the Palestinian society and economy.

To provide more information about the status and activities of Samed, especially in 1979, Abu-Ala'a, Director General of the establishment, gave the following account to *"Palestine"*:

Q. Abu-Ala'a, when was Samed first established and when did it move to Lebanon?

A. It was first established in Jordan in 1970. At that time, Samed started as small vocational centres with the special aim of training and employing children of those Palestinians who fell in armed resistance against the Zionist occupiers. Samed then began to develop production centres. But, unfortunately, it faced the same fate as the Palestinian revolution in 1970 in Jordan and its centres were hit. So we moved Samed to Lebanon early in 1971 where it resumed its activities.

Q. Would you please give a clear idea about the present activities of Samed?

A. Samed has three main sectors. First, there is the industrial sector, which comprises 33 units employing 3,500 men and women workers. This sector produces all kinds of ready-made clothes for men, women and children. It also produces high quality furniture considered better than that produced in the local market or even in the whole area. We produce daily in this sector between 400 and 450 high quality blankets which meet the requirements of our military forces and part of the requirement of our own people. We also produce sweaters, as well as textiles. We first started with two textile looms to see if this industry would be successful and we can say now it was. Next year, we will develop this plant to increase its total production.

Another of our industrial products is plastics. This experiment also started with two machines, but we have recently signed a contract with the German Democratic Republic to develop this enterprise and to import six modern, advanced machines. Work with the new machines will start early in 1980. We also produce 3,500 pairs of shoes monthly. We have also signed a contract with the People's Republic of Hungary to build a military shoe factory which will fill the requirements of our militants and probably allow us to export to Arab countries as well. Production will start in February 1980.

We also have a workshop which produces handicrafts and folkloric art works which have a direct connection with our Palestinian culture and legacy. We produce embroidered needlework, basically Palestinian folk dress, which we consider one of the means by which we wage our battles with the Zionist enemy who stole the land and tried to steal this legacy represented in our folkloric dress. The Zionists put our folklore on show in Europe and claim that it belongs to them and represents Israel's legacy when it is in fact the legacy of centuries of Palestinian cultural development. The Zionists, who are recent immigrants to Palestine, have no claim to our cultural legacy.

THE CINEMA SECTOR

Secondly, we have the Cinema Sector in which we try to create a complete industry, starting from the production of films to their printing and distribution. We have trained the necessary cadres for this activity and produced documentary films, including "The Land" and "The Key", both of which won a number of international prizes, one of which is "The Medal of Golden Dove" in the Leipzig Fair. It was the first time that the highest prize awarded by that international cinema fair was given to an Arab film.

Early next year, we will be able to print and develop colour films to encourage our Palestinian producers to increase their activities and productions, because the picture and the cinema are the best media that can demonstrate and explain the truth of any issue.

AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS IN AFRICA

Thirdly, the activity of the Agricultural Sector. Of course, we do not possess land on which to establish our enterprises. Some friendly African states provided us with acreage to establish our agricultural enterprises in joint ventures, including projects for poultry raising, cattle-breeding, forestation and production of vegetables and animal feed.

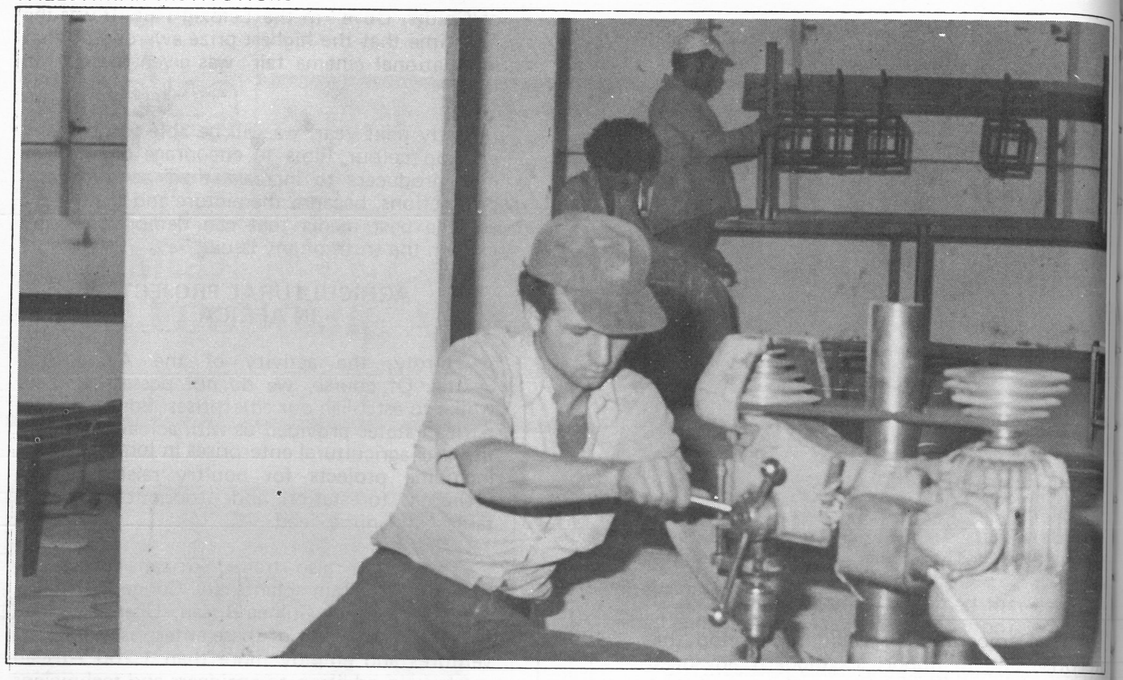
This sector also trains African cadres and maintains certain plants in Congo-Brazaville, Guinea-Conakry, Guinea-Bissau, Uganda, Somalia and Sudan. Most of these enterprises are joint ventures and employ more than 1,200 African workers in addition to engineers and technicians who cooperate with 70 other Palestinian engineers and technicians, working there on construction and maintenance, etc. We have basically set up agricultural projects in Africa to deepen relations and ties between the Palestinian revolution and the friendly African peoples who support our people in their just and legitimate struggle.

Q. With which countries in particular does Samed cooperate?

A. On the marketing level, we have in fact two kinds of contractual agreements. Firstly, we consider the requirements of our revolution and of our people living in refugee camps as a major market for the consumption of our products. Secondly, we also have Arab and African markets in which we set up permanent fairs, especially in the Democratic Republic of Yemen, Libya and Algeria. In the latter we have movable stands for the exhibition, and we have our products in all districts the year around. In Africa, we organized fairs in Congo-Brazaville and Guinea-Conakry, and we will soon have new fairs in Guinea-Bissau and Madagascar.

CONTRACT CONCLUDED WITH U.S.S.R

We have concluded an agreement with the Soviet Union to supply it with 20,000 shirts. This was the first requisition made by our comrades, who have promised to submit even



SAMED:

AN ECONOMIC ARM OF THE PLO

larger requisitions to buy our products. This has also given us confidence in our products and confidence that our comrades stand with us in all fields of struggle.

TOTAL PRODUCTION DOUBLED IN 1979.

Q. Would you please give data about Samed's total production and sales during 1979?

A. In fact, I cannot yet determine the total production but I can say that products sold during 1979, compared with last year's, have doubled and reached twenty million Lebanese pounds at the end of 1979.

Q. How many workers are there in Samed?

A. There are 3,500 workers in the industrial sector from both sexes. Women constitute 65% of this number.

NATIONAL STRUGGLE

Q. Would you please give a clear idea about medical and social security for workers in Samed?

A. We always seek to fulfill the desire of the worker, because man is the most valuable productive element. We give our worker medical care, which is also a security for the Palestinian revolution. This includes medicine and treatment in the hospitals of the Palestinian Red Crescent and in independent clinics owned by specialists, when necessary. We send urgent cases to friendly countries as well. As to other measures, we have social security and in case one of Samed's workers dies he is considered a martyr of the Palestinian revolution and his family can receive a monthly payment while his children will be given a free education. We believe this is the most aadvanced system of a social security that could be furnished to any worker in a production establishment.

Q. Please explain the role played by Samed to advance the establishing of a Palestinian state and to strengthen the national struggle. Are there also political education campaigns in Samed's different branches?

A. Of course, Samed is one of the Palestinian revolution's establishments and clings to the revolution's political line of struggle, militarily and socially. It works with other establishments to assist the revolution's forces to accomplish liberation and repatriation.

Samed, in its special fields of operation, creates a Palestinian economic and revolutionary experiment. For the first time in Palestinian history, machines are treated as common property. From this start, we can say that Samed is the nucleus of the Palestinian "public sector."

We may make some mistakes and meet certain difficulties, but we are experimenting. These mistakes and difficulties can be avoided once we go back to our liberated soil. By then, we will have successfully accomplished this experiment which will, for sure, be one of the sources of our economic structure built on our liberated soil.

SAMED WORKERS ARE FIGHTERS TOO

Samed's workers are social and political militants. They are not only workers awaiting to get their salaries at the end of each month. The Samed worker is committed to the line of his revolution. He becomes a fighter when his factories are attacked by either the Zionist enemy or by other hostile forces. Then he carries arms, side by side with other fighters, to defend the revolution and its achievements.

We are providing jobs to a huge number of our people who suffer from lack of work opportunities. This is one of Samed's main goals and we have come a long way towards realizing it.

The employment of 3,500 workers actually supports 3,500 families or 35,000 individuals, taking into consideration that a Palestinian family is usually made up of 10 persons. Our aspiration is to be able to provide work for many more people, and this is our top priority. Every year, the popular committees ask for more workshops to be established in their refugee camps. This is a positive phenomenom of which we feel proud.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES

As to political education, we have weekly and monthly campaigns as well as continuous meetings with workers to bind them with both their revolution and cause. Moreover, there is in each production unit a revolutionary committee, elected in a democratic way to represent completely the workers on the different administrative levels in Samed. Workers of Samed have 60% representation on the Administrative Board through this committee. The task of this committee is also to orient workers politically, and to explain to them new developments affecting the Palestinian issue and other Middle Eastern issues related to our cause. This committee tackles the social problems facing workers in Samed and takes their cases to the administration. It asks this administration to secure workers' rights in cases when such a request is necessary.

In addition to the activities of these committees, there is the "Committee for Political Work" which is directly connected with the "Political Deputation System" of the movement of the military forces. It arranges monthly meetings between the Command of the Political Deputation System and the revolutionary committees, and holds monthly meetings with workers, too. Many meetings are usually held between workers and comrades in the High Command who go occasionally to visit them to explain urgent political problems related to the Palestinian issue.

Samed dairy project in Guinea

PALESTINIAN INSTITUTIONS

دليل الخدمات الطبية في لبنان

THE PALESTINE RED CRESCENT SOCIETY

Red Crescent poster used in sanitary campaign

To provide for the Palestinian people's medical and health needs in their struggle for national liberation, the Palestinian Red Crescent Society was founded in Jordan in 1968. The following year it was officially recognised by the Palestinian National Council, on the fourth anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, as the PLO's health organisation. Later the same year, at the Conference of International Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun Societies in Istanbul, the PRCS secured a resolution enabling it to set up branches in all countries where there are Palestinian population concentrations. It was admitted as an observer to conferences of the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun Societies, and was also granted virtually full membership by the Arab national Societies.

With 30 hospitals (some of them for children and others for women) and about 100 clinics, the PRCS is providing for the medical needs of the Palestinian populations of Lebanon and some other Arab countries. The PRCS also devotes itself to social activities which fulfill a large part of the Palestinians' socio-economic requirements. These activities are embodied by the professional training centres, which include two nursing schools (one in Beirut and the other in Tyre) and secretarial, typing, sewing and handicraft schools. The latter activity enables world public opinion to learn about the Palestinians' identity, culture and heritage.

This combined medical and social activity which is characteristic of the PRCS eliminates begging and strengthens the Palestinian people's struggle to win their legitimate national rights.

This humanitarian association's medical and social services are available to anyone in need, regardless of nationality and religious affiliations. Palestinians, Lebanese, Syrians, Kurds, etc. are treated and operated on in PRCS hospitals and clinics in return for a nominal sum. It is a society for the service of the dispossessed and oppressed masses. PRCS hospitals and clinics are mostly built on the edge of refugee camps and working-class population centres where Palestinians and Lebanese live side by side and share the same fate, all exposed to Israeli air raids in corrugated iron houses.

THE REHABILITATION CENTRE

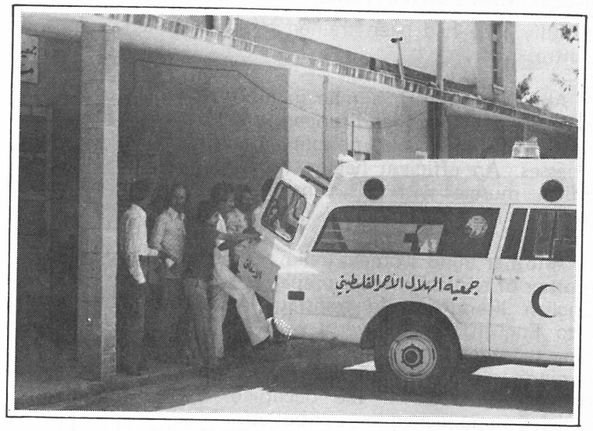
"The wounded person who has been rehabilitated is at the service of the wounded person who is infirm." This is the principle which governs working relationships at the Ramleh Rehabilitation Centre for handicapped children and war wounded. They are treated by physiotherapy specialists who are sometimes rehabilitated wounded people, on the basis that there is no better doctor than someone who has been wounded.

The Ramleh Centre was launched nine years ago, with a sum of 100 Lebanese pounds. Today it is quite a modern centre with equipment for rehabilitation and electrical treatment, a factory to make artificial limbs and medical footwear for polio victims and a swimming pool for handicapped children.

At the beginning, there were doubts about the effectiveness of the centre's handicapped workers and specialists. But on-the-spot investigation dispelled the doubts and gave rise to admiration.

Nour is a specialist in the manufacture of lower artificial limbs. He himself was wounded and had his left leg amputated during the war with the Lebanese isolationist fascists in 1976. After a year of treatment at the centre, he walked with great assurance and pride. Showing me the artificial limb attached to his right leg, he told me: "I learnt the secrets of this profession so as to benefit myself and help my wounded comrades. Most of them wanted to go to Europe to be fitted for artificial limbs. I convinced them to try those which I made myself. Now they are walking confidently and are very happy."

Another important aim of the centre is to raise wounded people's morale and encourage them to continue the course they followed and for which they were wounded: the liberation of their country, Palestine. This process makes the handicapped wounded person a productive element essential to the Palestinian Revolution.



Hassan, the centre's founder and director, says: "Here, we don't need psychiatrists. The rehabilitated wounded person himself is a psychiatrist. He himself provides the example of a handicapped person who has recovered and is productive."

The blind are no less active. At Akka Hospital entrance, a blind woman operates the telephone switchboard. We asked her to give us the PRCS information office. She handled the switchboard

skilfully. She had been trained by the Ramleh Centre.

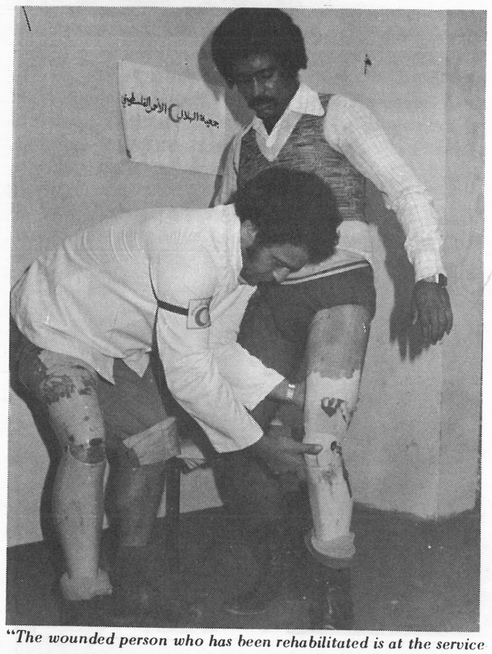
Abu Muhammad, a man in his fifties, does massage for the handicapped wounded and victims of paraplegia, poliomyelitis and other illnesses. An efficient helper, he seeks out the infirm muscle with his sensitive fingers and begins to massage it.

Another blind woman, Leila, married and the mother of two children, is preparing her thesis in English literature and translates from Arabic into English and vice versa with the help of a tape recorder. She also types. She is happy to remind us: "I once translated a report for you on the situation in the occupied territories which you published in your bulletin."

"Our second aim is to have wounded people as technicians, with an inventive spirit," said Fuad, who is in charge of the factory for artificial limbs. "My wounded people learn their profession much faster than normal people. Their work enables us to do without imported medical footwear which are very expensive. We simply import the raw materials and manufacture the artificial limbs to fit the patients who come to us."

PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

The Palestinians, an integral part of the Arab people, suffer from the same health problems as



"The wounded person who has been rehabilitated is at the service of the suffering wounded person."

the rest of the Third World only more so, as their refugee camps, owing to population density and appalling sanitary conditions, are an environment conducive to the spread of diseases. Hence the urgent need for preventive medicine.

In this context, the Palestinian Red Crescent Society has set up a number of centres and dispensaries in Palestinian camps and the housing areas of the working people to combat disease. One of the aims of these centres is to encourage the population of the camps to take an active part in this task.

The work is carried out in 11 centres on two levels, with children and mothers. To carry out this task fully, cadres, social workers, nurses and volunteers are deployed in various Palestinian camps in Lebanon.

Medical services are offered free to the masses of the people, whatever their nationality.

The preventive medicine section carries out vaccination against childhood illnesses like poliomyelitis, smallpox, whooping cough, tuberculosis, tetanus, etc., in each population centre. Medical care is also given to pregnant women to prevent pregnancy complications and advise expectant mothers on their diet, particularly in case of anaemia.

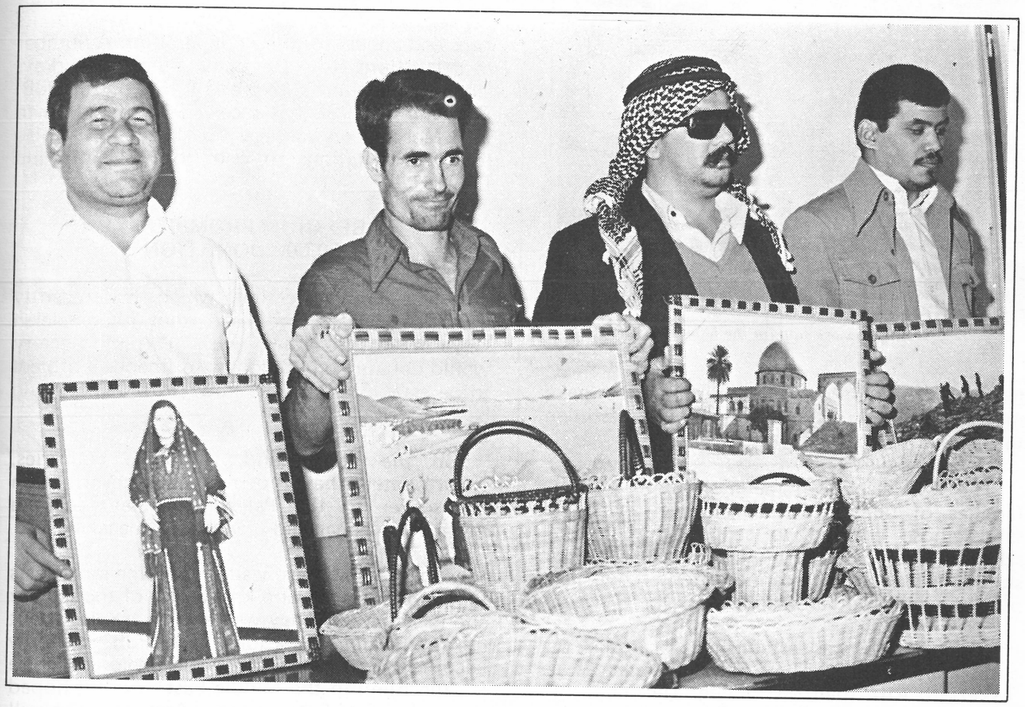
Midwives often visit the camps to perform deliveries in the women's own homes. At the same time, health education sessions, in which Palestinian wives and mothers take part, are organised in the camps. One of the aims is to convince them of the need to give birth in the PRCS clinic and to go there regularly to consult medical personnel.

The deplorable social and sanitary conditions of the Palestinian camps, overpopulation and pollution of the environment owing to open sewers encourage the spread of diseases. In an effort to remedy this situation, preventive medicine centres or clinics organise campaigns to collect rubbish, eliminate rats (particularly in badly ventilated shelters) and sterilise water. Insecticides are also offered free of charge.

The paramedical preventive medicine staff receive regular training and advanced courses to improve their professional standards. Most of them devote whole days to visiting villages and remote areas where the most disadvantaged sectors of the population live. They provide effective help to pregnant and lactating women, most of whom are illiterate, and try to solve their social and health problems. In population centres where the task of preventive medicine is linked to that of social assistance, literacy courses for illiterate wives and mothers are often organised.

NEEDS SUPPORT:

THE PALESTINIAN SOCIETY FOR THE BLIND



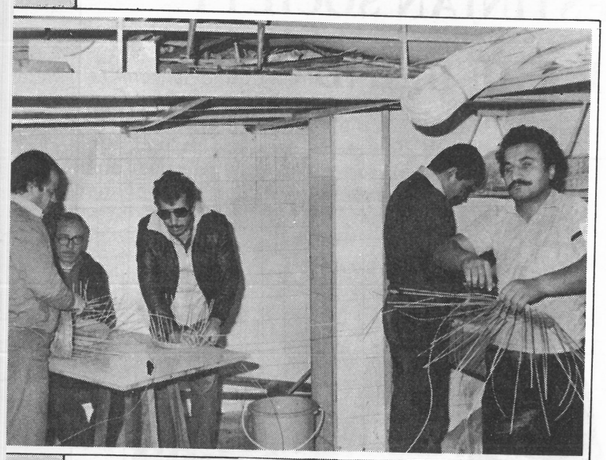
The Palestine Society for the Blind (PSB) was founded in April 1977, following a resolution issued by Chairman Arafat. In accordance with its internal statute, the society is now headed by a blind man, Mr. Ribhi Abu Jamal. The main aim of this society is to raise the cultural level of Palestinian blind people living in refugee camps in Lebanon and to improve their social life and material conditions. The PSB now sponsors more than 250 blind people and is linked to the Palestine Liberation Organisation and operates in accordance with those regulations applied to all popular organisations within the PLO. Unfortunately, the PSB has not been able to increase the number of blind people it sponsors due to lack of funds. "The Palestine Society for the Blind will open new branches for the Palestinian blind in Syria once our financial capabilities improve and more money becomes available", Mr. Ribhi Abu Jamal told *Palestine* magazine in a recent interview.

A preparatory committee, formed recently, has prepared and established an internal statute for the PSB. This decreed that the Blind should occupy 2/3 of seats in the administrative board while those with sight will occupy the rest.

WORKSHOP FOR THE BLIND

The PSB tries to cooperate with all Arab and international societies with a view to improving

THE PALESTINIAN SOCIETY FOR THE BLIND



Craft workshop for the blind

the status of the Palestinian blind and to make them a practical and creative force in Palestinian society.

The PSB also gives material support to the families of blind children and teen-agers and sends those entitled to schooling to special schools, and pays part of the cost of their studies. But those who cannot attend schools are provided with food and clothes.

A workshop was established to teach the blind manual skills. They can now make straw baskets to earn their own living. The blind also learn Braille reading and writing at the PSB's centre. Those blind who have learned trades secure work within the various apparatuses of the revolution and those who have mastered manual skills are assigned the job of teaching those skills.

RECREATION AND GATHERINGS; MUSICAL BAND

The PSB does not only confine its activity to material support. It has various recreation programmes and usually organises gatherings for the blind who are also given opportunities to take part in cultural and political activities. The PSB helped those who could play musical instruments to form a band. The band organises visits to wounded comrades in hospitals and conducts other popular concerts in cooperation with other musical bands of the revolution.

LODGING FOR RETARDED PEOPLE

The PSB accommodates the retarded and orphans with special lodgings and provides for their expenses and clothes. Adults also receive food and clothes.

CONTACT WITH INTERNATIONAL SOCIETIES

The PSB made several contacts with international charitable societies to tell them of its aims and appeal for their cooperation. A number of delegations from Germany, Bulgaria, Turkey, Norway, Belgium and the U.S. visited the PSB. Recently the PSB has received an invitation to visit Moscow on January 15, 1980. It has also received invitations to visit both Belgium and Libya.

BELGIUM PROMISES $ 50,000 DONATION

A Belgian delegation which has recently visited the PSB promised that the Belgian Government together with Oxfam Society would donate 50,000 dollars to finance a project to be established by the PSB, provided it would be acceptable to them.

On the other hand, the Arab countries, unfortunately, have not made any contribution whatsoever to the Palestine Society for the Blind, Abu Jamal told *"Palestine"* magazine.

The PSB was also visited by some journalists to give them first-hand knowledge of the society and its activities. They wrote some articles about its status and operations. The PSB has now become the 15th member in the Regional Centre for the Blind in the Middle East, and it is hoped that other international and Arab societies will contact the Palestine Society for the Blind and exchange with it educational aid and other material support.

HOW TO HELP THE PSB

You can contact the PSB by writing or visiting it. You can write an article or inform a friend who may be a member of a charitable society about our human activities and needs. As a new charitable society, the PSB needs a library and any book you can present would be helpful. The PSB also needs musical instruments and other material support for the blind. The PSB welcomes any person who has experience in handicraft work or any other field that can be taught to the blind.

CHILDREN'S SCHOOLS:

OUR GENERATION OF THE FUTURE

TAL AL ZAATAR CHILDREN: RESISTANCE CHILDREN'S HOME

The story of Tal Al Zaatar has become known throughout the world as the symbol of resistance and heroism. It has often been said that "Tal Al Zaatar was not defeated, it was martyred." But people have seldom mentioned the human problem, that of the individual human being after the fall of Tal Al Zaatar. The massacres there resulted in the loss of 5,000 people, making many women widows and children orphans.

The children who lost their parents and have no family to look after them are very numerous. Some of the very small ones did not even know their own names and had to be given a new identity. The General Union of Palestinian Women established the Resistance Children's Home for them.

The "Resistance Children's Home" (Beit As-Soumoud) is not a boarding school but a home. The 130 children who live there, who are aged between 3 and 16, are divided into 15 families of up to 10 persons each. An adoptive mother lives with and looks after each family. The mothers are generally widows from Tal Al Zaatar who had already been in contact with the children and their parents before the latter were killed. Brothers and sisters are together in the same family. Everything is done to give the

children a real home. A kindergarten was set up inside the Home for children from 3 to 6 years old, and the older ones go to UNRWA schools like all Palestinian refugee camp children, and go back home in the evening to their mothers, brothers and sisters. The children go to the cinema with their families and go camping once a month outdoors.

The activities organised by the Home are aimed at giving the children a sense of belonging to something more fundamental than the family: Palestine and the Palestinian cause for which their parents died as martyrs. The children attend a meeting each week dealing with an aspect of the history of Palestine and the Zionist movement. They take part in all the Resistance celebrations and study Palestinian folklore and embroidery.

The children of the Resistance Children's Home represented Palestine in the USSR, France, Belgium and Kuwait by taking part in international youth camps set up for the International Year of the Child.

These activities, as well as self-expression through painting and the theatre, loving care, the family atmosphere and appropriate psychotherapy, have helped the children to overcome the emotional shock which traumatised them at such a young age. It must not be forgotten that these children are not ordinary orphans, but the children of the horrors of Tal Al Zaatar. Most of them were seriously ill when they were admitted to the Resistance Children's Home.

Ali, aged 9, used to break windows and then cut himself with the fragments of glass. He had been compelled to sleep in a shelter where dead bodies were piled up, and the next day "they" forced him to strip the corpses of their jewellery. Ali is now a very nervous boy, rather aggressive, but he no longer tries to hurt himself. He shows all his aggressiveness when dancing the Dabka.

Three-year-old Rania, who had been in her father's arms when he died, would not talk. The only thing she would agree to do was to draw a picture of a corpse, with a river of blood flowing form it. But now Rania has become a very smiling girl, who launches into endless conversations.

Ahmed refused to drink. His mother had left the shelter to fetch water and never returned. Now every night Ahmed asks his adoptive mother for a glass of water which he drinks happily before he sleeps.

The Palestinian Revolution refuses to let Palestinian children be adopted in Lebanon or abroad. A child should not be uprooted. He is the child of the Palestinian cause, and the latter's duty is to keep him with his brothers and sisters, in an atmosphere close to that in which he has lived.

"CHILDREN'S HAPPINESS SCHOOL"

Sacrifice and selflessness are prime necessities for the struggle for liberation and independence. The Palestinian people, whose country was seized in 1948, have taken up arms and adopted armed struggle as the only course for fulfilling their aspirations to return to Palestine, rediscover their identity and regain their right to self-determination. Hundreds of people have been killed in action on the road to freedom, leaving families and children behind them. The Palestine Liberation Organisation, as the Palestinian people's sole legal representative, has a duty to find solutions to the problems of Palestinian children whose fathers and mothers have sacrificed themselves for the homeland.

The folk-dancing group of the Children's Happiness School in Souq al-Gharb

The Children's Happiness School ("Issa'ad Attufula") is an example of the constant efforts the Revolution is making to meet the need of Palestinian martyrs' children. There is a special boarding school for these children at Souk Al Gharb in the Lebanese mountains.

The school accommodates 450 children of various Arab nationalities, aged from 5 to 16. There are 10 children in each room. Each floor is named after a Palestinian village. They have their meals in a refectory at fixed times, and their clothes are sent to the school laundry three times a week. So that they should feel at home, the older ones are encouraged to help the staff in their daily work and look after the younger ones.

The school has classes from kindergarten to third grade. It follows the Lebanese government educational syllabus, together with a special syllabus on Palestine. Pupils who want to continue their secondary and university studies leave the school and are taken care of by the PLO Social Affairs Department.

The school administration always stresses the importance of its extracurricular activities, to which the afternoon is devoted. The most important sections are those for painting, music, Palestinian folk dancing and embroidery.

The Children's Happiness folk dancing troupe often leaves the school in summer to perform throughout the world. In the past year, it spent three months in the United States, where it represented Palestine. More or less all the children of the school spend some time as members of the troupe.

This year, the Day of the Land coincided with the Day of the Child. Enthusiasm reached its height, after months of preparation for that day. The school was turned into a Palestinian village, with all the children, teachers and administrative staff dressed in traditional Palestinian clothes. The clothes and decor were designed and made by the children. Delegations from various Lebanese educational institutions were invited. The surprise of the day was a Palestinian marriage ceremony for a couple of Palestinian combatants at the Children's Happiness School. The older children played the part of the parents, and the marriage was acted out traditionally down to the smallest details. The children were very happy. For them, the whole Palestinian people are their mother, the combatants their brothers and sisters. They are not orphans, since the whole Palestinain people are the orphaned children of usurped Palestine.

The purpose of this day, as the director of the school explained, was for the children to live the part of Palestine, to become aware of their identity. "We owe it to the parents of these children, who have all sacrificed themselves for Palestine, to teach them their history and their culture, so that these become an integral part of their personalities. Our duty is to provide these children with the real facts of their situation so that they can decide on their struggle." □

Um Jihad

KEEPING THE PROMISES:

THE INSTITUTION OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND WELFARE

"Many are the unknown soldiers in our struggle for the liberation of Palestine; and you, my brothers and sisters, are among those who are silently carrying most important responsibilities in the long history of our armed struggle". Chairman Arafat thus adressed all the workers in the Institution for Social Affairs and Welfare for the Martyrs' and Prisoners' Families.

Um Jihad, the head of this institution which is very important for our people both socially and in terms of morals, briefed *"Palestine"* on its activities:

Q: What is the Institution for Social Affairs and Welfare for Martyrs' and Prisoners' Families?

A: The Institution for Social Affairs and Welfare for Martyrs' and Prisoners' Families is one of the institutions which addresses both human and cultural aspects of the Palestinian Revolution. The institute takes care of the families of all martyrs, prisoners (whether inside the enemy's jails or those who have been jailed in some of the Arab countries), missing persons and the wounded of the Palestinian revolution.

We also take care of the families of those who do not belong to the Palestinian revolution but who were killed, wounded or are missing because of our armed struggle against the Zionist enemy. This includes Palestinians and Lebanese alike.

Q: Why was the Institution first established?

A: The Institution for Social Affairs was established with the emergence of Palestinian armed resistance in 1965, in order to look after the families of our martyrs. It started as a social insurance system. But as our armed struggle escalated, it was soon transformed by the year 1968 into an institution that takes care of more than 40,000 persons who are the relatives of martyrs, prisoners or the injured.

The reasons behind establishing such an institute are for morale and material purposes. It is important for the morale of our militants to know that we are going to take care of them or of their families if they are killed or wounded. It is also important to strengthen the cohesion between the Palestinian resistance movement, the martyrs' and prisoners' families and wounded militants. This is done by means of social calls carried out by special committees. Materially, it is important to help such families financially, medically and educationally. We also try to help them in overcoming any problem they might face.

Q: Does the Institution have branches in Arab countries other than Lebanon?

A: In 1968, we decided to open secondary branches in every Arab country where at least 50 martyrs' families live. So we now have secondary branches in Jordan, Syria, Kuwait, Iraq, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

LOCAL COMMITTEES

We have local committees for social affairs in every camp and district. Each committee consists of a permanent member and a number of volunteers choosen from the camp or district. They must be known for their credibility so that people will have confidence in them. Such committees make a social study of every case and are the link between the Institution and the people.

Q: What is the nature of the social services you offer?

A: When a militant from a certain camp is martyred, the local committee sees to everything, arranges the funeral and pays all the expenses.

The Institution gives monthly financial assistance to each family concerned. It also makes compensation payments to the victims of Israeli aggression against civilians (Lebanese or Palestinians). I may note here that our budget reached 90 million L.L. [$30 million] last year.

The local committee is also responsible for paying regular social visits to the martyrs' families to give them their monthly payments and to help them in their everyday problems. In the case of a wounded militant, the local committee takes care of him or her during the recuperation or rehabilitation period.

HEALTH AND EDUCATIONAL WELFARE FOR CHILDREN

Besides the monthly financial assistance and compensation awards, the Institution offers health and educational benefits for the children of the affected families. We supervise teaching of martyrs' children in schools especially founded for this purpose in many Arab countries. In Lebanon, we have the school of "Is'aad Al-Tufoula" (Children's Happiness), where more than 500 children continue their studies.

The Institution pays all of the expenses for secondary and university education for those who finish elementary school. Of course, martyrs' sons and daughters have first priority in receiving scholarships which are donated to the PLO by friendly countries.

PRISONERS IN ZIONIST JAILS

Q: What about those captured by the Zionist enemy in Palestine?

A: We help in paying the lawyers' expenses when a militant is captured by the enemy. We also try to send him or her some necessities such as books, medicine, clothing, food and money through the Red Cross. The martyrs' families who are living inside occupied territories get monthly assistance also.

Q: What other services does the Institution offer to help the steadfastness of our people?

A: We have established many centers for vocational training of the martyrs' wives, sisters or daughters. We teach them how to sew, embroider and type.

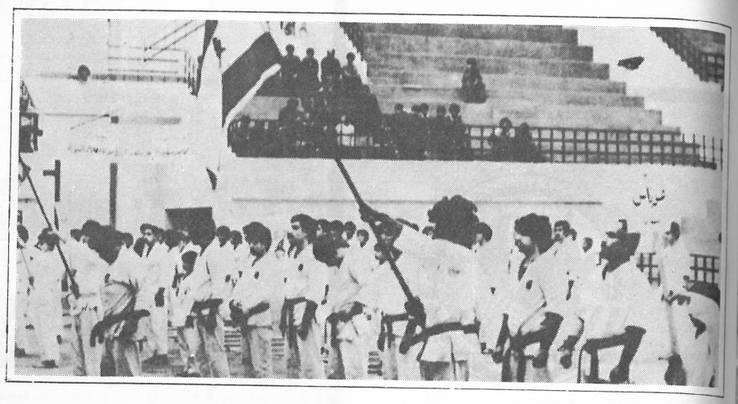
NURSERIES

Q: What about nurseries?

A: After a thorough investigation of social life in the camps we concluded that nurseries were badly needed. We have established eleven nurseries in different camps. In them, we accept children of martyrs, prisoners, the wounded or missing militants. And if there are still vacancies, we accept other children from the camps. We train our nursery school teachers according to the latest educational methods. Also, we employ teachers from the martyrs' and prisoners' families or wounded militants.

Q: What are your plans for the near future?

A: We are planning to establish a center for the rehabilitation of wounded militants. We also plan to expand our nursery services to cover every camp and to expand the rehabilitation centers for the martyrs' wives, daughters and sisters. The martyrs, prisoners and the wounded of the Palestinian Revolution have kept the promises they made to Palestine. The Palestinian Resistance is keeping the promises it has made to them and to Palestine through the Institution of Social Affairs.



THE HIGHER COUNCIL FOR PALESTINIAN SPORTS AND YOUTH:

DEVELOPING SPORTS SKILLS ON ALL LEVELS

Palestinian sporting activities are not new, but go back to before the year 1948. Then there were sporting unions in Palestine for the different kinds of sports. But after the Israeli aggressors occupied Palestine, the Palestinians suffered from displacement. They were scattered throughout the Arab World. But in spite of the obstacles which they faced after the loss of their homeland, they continued their social, sporting and cultural activities. The Higher Council for Palestinian Sports and Youth was established in the 1950s in Gaza. Its aim then and now was to revive and organize Palestinian sporting activities and to raise a fine generation of young people.

The Council has continued its activities until today, and in an interview with Ahmad al-Qodweh, its director, he explained the importance of the social side of sporting activities:

"Sports are important. Through them we can develop social relations with other countries. It is through participation in sports that we can present our human cause. We are people and we have the right to undertake our activities in our own land. This council includes 14 Palestinian sporting unions, such as the Basketball Union, the Football Union, the Judo and Karate Union, etc. In addition, there is the Palestinian Scouts Committee and the Ashbal organization for young people. They run youth camps, whose main task is to develop the young people's character, to give them self-confidence, to encourage their hobbies, to make them live harmoniously together, and to prepare them for participation in Arab or international athletic competitions.

"Although we lack many facilities, we have managed to attain encouraging results in athletic competitions held in Arab and Western countries."

A PALESTINIAN WORLD CHAMPION

Al-Qodweh went on to say that on September 22, 1979, Palestinian contestant Zarif Shibana won the title of "World Champion in Body Building" (short size). "This is clear evidence," he said, "that Palestinian sports are continuing, and that is why Palestinian participation in the 1980 Olympics in the Soviet Union must be full participation, not limited. The Palestinian Union of Basketball in Gaza received an invitation to participate. It is one of 14 Palestinian basketball unions in the Arab World. It won its international membership before 1967. That is why it received an invitation from the International Union of Basketball, in which the Palestinian Gaza Union is a member. But as a result of the present circumstances, the Palestinian Basketball Union is now based in Lebanon.

"Before, when the Palestinians were yet approaching international recognition," Ahmad al-Qodweh explained, "they claimed that we are people without land. But now, after the PLO has gained international recognition, they realize that there is a Palestinian people both inside and outside our occupied territories. Our social and sports activities are a means which effectively demonstrate the Palestinian reality and identity. The delegation to participate in the Olympic Games will not be chosen only from Lebanon or the West Bank, but will be a collection of the most skilled Palestinian basketball players throughout the world. Special training will be set up for them so that they can develop their camp teamwork. There are Palestinian athletes in Cuba, America, Germany, England, the Soviet Union and the Arab World. The problem they face is that they are dispersed all over the world. But despite this fact, they are one family."

CHILDREN'S ACTIVITIES

For children there is the "Ashbal" institution, which works formally independent of the activities of the Council for Sports. The "Ashbal" are found in every Palestinian camp. There are cultural, sporting and artistic supervisors who live in these camps and whose job is to develop the children's hobbies, activities and faculties. The Higher Council cooperates with this institution in providing specialists in these fields. The council pays great attention to the young generation because they are the hope of the future. During 1979, 10 delegations of children visited many countries. This shows the council's interest in exchanging experiences and visits with friendly countries. During summer children usually camp in Syria. About 5,000 children live together for one month to participate in different kinds of activities. Visitors to the camps were enthused about the programme and expressed their admiration for the skillful organization of such a large camp with numerous activities.

GIRLS' ACTIVITIES

The activities of girls are still in the stage of developing and preparing. This is because most of them, in view of the severe circumstances our revolution has passed through, have joined the nursing, social and educational fields, where they believe they can help and contribute more. But in the meantime they aim at developing their sporting skills because the Palestinian Revolution is interested in their participation on all levels. Girls already participate in Karate, basketball and swimming. The Sports Council does its best to establish a good team of girls which can in the future participate on all levels.

POLITICAL AND INTERNATIONAL ROLE OF SPORTS

Director al-Qodweh went on: "I believe in the saying: 'A sound mind is in a sound body.' The main task of sports is to build the body through training. Sports mark the country's civilization and progress. They contribute effectively to establishing social and human relations with other countries. So we conclude that sports are important in creating friendly relations between peoples. That's why we care about participating in atheletic activities, because through them we can manifest the human side of the Palestinian Revolution.

"Our teams have participated in different countries. In Japan they won many victories in Karate. We have participated also in atheletic competitions held in the Arab world on all levels, despite our dispersion in exile and scanty resources. We have proved that we are worth the titles we have won."

ASSOCIATION FOR THEATER
AND PALESTINIAN POPULAR ART:

DEFENDING THE CULTURAL HERITAGE

The Association for Theater and Palestinian Popular Art is one of the revolutionary Palestinian institutions. It represents the other side of the revolution, where singing and dancing convey the meaning intended to be expressed. Two years since its establishment on January 7, 1978, it has achieved many successes in most of the countries of the world. It has also proven that the Palestinian Revolution is not only a gun, but defends the culture and the feelings of the Palestinian people and their rich heritage.

We visited the institution to learn about its activities during 1979 and its plans for 1980, and we found it resembled a beehive, crowded and active. Its members, who number between 60 and 70 and most of whom are still students, were full of enthusiasm. They were preparing to participate in the celebrations for the 15th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution on January 1, 1980. The institution occupies two floors, the first for singing and the second for folk dancing. We went to the second floor and watched the preparations taking place.

The performers were rehearsing a new dance sequence which tells about the Palestinian situation and reflects their struggle against the occupying enemy. It is about Palestinian peasants plowing and planting their lands. At first they are shown living happily with nothing disturbing their lives. Girls join them in dancing and singing, but suddenly an explosion occurs and the music changes. No longer is it the traditional music; it has become discordant. It has no relation with the land. The Israelis enter with different uniforms and a different kind of dancing. But the land itself refuses them, and the sound of the flute can be heard once more. It becomes louder and louder, until it overwhelms the discordant music. This carries the meaning of eventual victory. It also carries within itself the struggle of our Palestinian people in the occupied territories. It is a dance sequence which sheds light on the problems facing our people and points to the actual uprising in the occupied territories.

Oslo Mayor receives Palestinian folklore troupe

DEDICATED ART

When they finished the dance, which was very effective and meaningful, we talked with the choreographer of the troupe. He said: "Our task is to present our problem through art. Our interest in art is not for art's sake. It is a dedicated art committed to the line of the revolution. Our work carries a political meaning which discusses our problem and tries to convince with evidence. We know that the Zionist propaganda tries to distort our image outside and that's why we emerge to prove to the world that we are not a gang of terrorists, as the Israelis claim, but a people who have a just cause, and who have the right to return to their homeland. In addition to this dance sequence, we have another one called 'The Land.' Through art we can serve our cause, provided that we don't distort our culture and heritage. Every country has its own traditions and culture. Our task is to preserve our traditions and customs. They are very beautiful and lovely; every town, every village has its own particular customs and traditions."

MEANS OF POLITICAL EXPRESSION

He continued, saying: "In the occupied territories, our Palestinian artists are very active. Our people do not miss any occasion – a wedding, for example – to express their opinions and attitudes freely, through words and through the songs of the Palestinian Revolution. In this way they challenge the oppressive forces, and so our work is coordinated with theirs: they fight the enemy from the inside, and we fight his propaganda outside. Our aim is the same, which is to regain our independence in a state of our own. Until then, we will use all the means we have to obtain this end.

"During a visit we made to Norway, we were invited to perform in a theater that can hold 3,000 persons. Incidentally, many Zionists usually go to this theater. Those who invited us to Norway insisted that we perform in the theater, and we agreed. One of the Norwegian women who watched the performance came up onto the stage afterwards crying and congratulating us. She said: 'I was deceived for 22 years, and I realize now that the Palestinians are a people who have a just cause.' "

ACHIEVEMENTS DURING 1979

Then we had an interview with Abu Sadeq, the head of the troupe, who gave us a full account of the troupe's work during 1979. He said: "In two years we have achieved many successes and have won the sympathy and solidarity of the countries we visited. We have also received many invitations from different countries to participate in their national celebrations.

DEFENDING THE CULTURAL HERITAGE

"This year we visited five countries, including the German Democratic Republic, Libya, Yemen, Algeria and Portugal. We were warmly received by our hosts and were encouraged by our audiences, who liked us very much.

"Our visit to East Germany was very important and successful in presenting our political message. Our last performance there was in Berlin's Popular Theater, where only international groups perform. The theater holds 7,000, and our performance was filmed for presentation on TV and in movie houses.

"In September we participated in celebrations in Libya. We performed in most Libyan towns, and received much encouragement from our Libyan audiences, who were very sympathetic with us. They always wanted encores. We also participated in revolutionary celebrations in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in October. We performed all over that country, and about 34,000 people got to see us.

"Our last journey of the year took us to Algeria and Portugal. It was a very exhausting one, because Portugal was added on at the last minute to coincide with Chairman Abu Ammar's (Yassir Arafat's) visit to that country. One evening in Algeria after winding up a performance we suddenly received word that there was an airplane waiting to take us to Portugal! We went to Lisbon and performed successfully; one magazine correspondent told us afterwards: 'You should be very proud of yourselves.' Despite our fatigue and the brief time we spent in Portugal, we believe we won the hearts of our audience by our presentation of our people's struggle. Then we returned to Algeria, where we performed in army camps, schools and colleges, and popular and national theaters. Our trip was very successful.

"In every performance we prepared special songs for the countries we were visitng. Our participation presented our Palestinian identity. Next year we will stress political songs because they are a means to portray the political facts of our cause. Political songs can play an important role in our political struggle."

THE GENERAL UNION OF PALESTINIAN WORKERS

The General Union of Palestinian Workers was originally established in Haifa, Palestine, in 1925 during the British Mandate. The goal of the union was to defend the rights of Palestinian workers and to secure for them social and medical benefits. In 1946, the GUPW had grown to encompass 50 branches representing 89,000 members. At present, the GUPW is run by a national congress, an executive committee, a supreme council and a general secretariat in which all members of the GUPW are eligible for leading posts in accordance with the union's by-laws.

The GUPW now struggles to defend the rights of the Palestinian working class wherever Palestinians live. This goal can only be fulfilled in cooperation with other Arab and international unions along with the whole international working class. Mr. Zeid Wahbeh, Secretary General of the Lebanese branch of the GUPW, and Abu George, the GUPW's secretary for international relations, gave the following account of GUPW activities to *Palestine*:

The GUPW is one of the cornerstones of the PLO. It is committed to the PLO's military and political line. Our social struggle developed as a result of the political repression suffered by our people both inside and outside our usurped homeland.

POLITICAL ROLE; GUPW BRANCHES

The GUPW educates Palestinian workers to be consciously aware of political developments and the general situation affecting our national cause. Eighty percent of Palestinian fighters come from the working class. Ahmed Mousa, the first martyr of the Palestinian Revolution, was a worker.

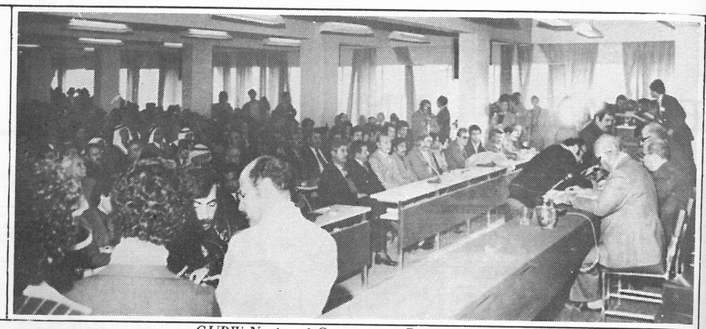
GUPW leaders Abu George (left) and Zeid Wahbeh (center) in front of Palestinian co-operative

The GUPW has opened 13 branches in Arab countries and in addition has branches in the FRG, Sweden, Denmark, Australia and Belgium. The policy of opening new branches of the GUPW is consistent with an internal union by-law which calls for the establishment of branches anywhere that Palestinians live. The GUPW has 14 representatives in the Palestine National Congress.

GUPW VOCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

GUPW activities have not been confined only to the Arab World, but have also been extended to the Socialist countries led by the Soviet Union. The GUPW has participated in international, vocational and educational conferences. Following the recent diplomatic successes achieved by PLO Chairman Arafat, the GUPW has been able to initiate active political and vocational programs in Western Europe and the Scandinavian countries. The GUPW has recently received an invitation from 13 British trade unions to send a delegation to Britain. This will take place in the early part of 1980. The GUPW attempts to explain to Europeans the political line of the PLO, the justice of the Palestinian people's cause and their inalienable rights for which they are struggling.

THE GENERAL UNION OF PALESTINIAN WORKERS



GUPW National Congress in Damascus

SOCIAL CARE; COOPERATIVES

The GUPW also tackle the social problems of Palestinian workers in Lebanon where a half million Palestinians live in 15 refugee camps. For instance, the union has been able to win workers' compensation for 450 Palestinian dock workers who had lost their jobs due to the closure of the Beirut port during the civil war in 1975-77.

The GUPW branch in Lebanon decided in 1977 to establish cooperatives for Palestinians living in refugee camps in Lebanon. The first consumers' cooperative was inaugurated in Biddawi Camp in northern Lebanon. It was followed by the establishment of six other cooperatives located adjacent to other Palestinian refugee camps.

The decision to establish consumers' cooperatives in refugee camps in Lebanon was taken after the GUPW conducted a special social research project investigating economic conditions in the camps. The results of the research showed that inflation particularly hits hard Palestinians living in the camps and they suffer from the monopolization of the economy as well as the exploitation which is part and parcel of a capitalist regime. We decided to set up consumers' cooperatives in which our workers and all Palestinian people could hold shares. In this respect we have examined the experiments with consumers' cooperatives in the Socialist countries taking into consideration the specific needs of our people in the refugee camps. The PLO revolutionary leadership has supported and encouraged the establishment of these cooperatives. More than 25,000 Palestinians hold shares in these cooperatives run by sixty employees.

MODERATE PRICES

These cooperatives sell at moderate prices and sometimes at cost — especially for basic commodities. Profits usually do not exceed 5 or 10 percent on ordinary commodities, but reach 20 percent on some luxury items. The goal of establishing these cooperatives was to make available necessary commodities to Palestinians at moderate prices. Shareholders annually receive six percent of the total profits while the remainder goes into establishing new cooperatives. In this way the GUPW has been able to operate a Palestinian cooperative system in which all the inhabitants in the refugee camps hold shares in a joint venture for the benefit of a common interest.

ARAB AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The GUPW is very active on the international level. It is a member of the World Confederation of Trade Unions (WCTU) based in Prague which represents 190 million workers. The GUPW participated in the inaugural session of the WCTU which convened in London in 1945. The GUPW also has close relations internationally with progressive trade unions in the Socialist, Asian, African, Latin American and West European countries. In Western Europe we have especially close relations with progressive unions in France and Italy.

This year the GUPW organized numerous local meetings and press conferences in Socialist and West European countries in conjunction with "Palestine Week" with the cooperation of friendly trade unions in these countries. The GUPW has organized three international solidarity conferences. The first was held in Sofia in September 1971 in which 70 trade unions participated. The second was in Karl-Marx-Stadt (GDR) in October, 1976 with 75 trade unions attending. The last solidarity conference was held in Damascus on May 15, 1979 where 94 trade unions from 64 countries took part. The GUPW stands side by side with the working class in the Arab World, especially when it is under attack as when Tunisian trade unionists were detained by the Tunisian government and in similar circumstances with Sudanese trade unionists. The GUPW still recognizes the legality of the Jordanian Trade Union whose leadership was arrested in 1970.

ZIONIST EXPLOITATION OF PALESTINIAN LABOR IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

The Zionist occupation of our homeland is a great source of suffering for our people there. Palestinian workers are forced to work in Zionist establishments where they are paid less than what Israeli workers usually earn. The root of this problem is political and its amelioration is an Arab and international responsibility. To boycott working in Zionist establishments, Palestinian workers need daily "assistance coverage" and this requires the mobilization of tremendous material resources which the GUPW alone cannot afford.

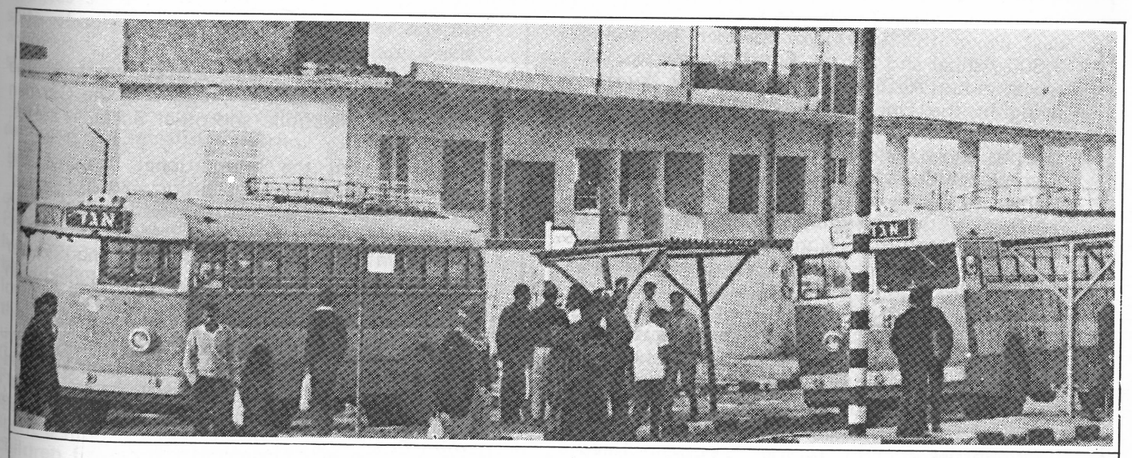
EMIGRATION OF PALESTINIAN WORKERS

Palestinian workers in the occupied territories lack opportunities for employment. As a consequence, they have been compelled to emigrate to other Arab countries in search of jobs. The GUPW considers this to be a dangerous phenomenon. The GUPW strives to stem Palestinian emigration from the occupied territories in addition to struggling to end the Zionist exploitation of Palestinian labor. In this way, the GUPW backs steadfastness in the occupied territories so that the Palestinian people can resist the self-rule conspiracy which aims at final annexation of the territories to the Jewish state where "cheap" Palestinian labor would be more easily exploited in the future.

GUPW SUPPORT FOR WORKERS UNDER OCCUPATION

GUPW organizational efforts inside the occupied territories focus on the organic relationship between the union outside Palestine and the Palestinian working class inside Palestine. Before the Zionist occupation in 1967, there had been a legal and open Palestinian trade union movement in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. After 1967, it was banned by the Zionist authorities. After a persistent international campaign for recognition, the GUPW gained a political victory when it was granted observer status in the International Labor Organization. The ILO formed a fact-finding mission to investigate racist oppression against Palestinian union activists inside the occupied territories. In the aftermath of the ILO investigation, the Zionists relented somewhat and allowed the reopening of a few Palestinian trade union offices in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Presently there are 18 vocational training centers in the West Bank. They operate in a limited way and only on a social level. They are not allowed to organize on a political level. In spite of this, Palestinian workers have taken part in all popular uprisings in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The occupation authorities usually deny permission for the establishment of new unions.

Palestinian worker representatives from the occupied territories participated in the sessions of the Sixth National Congress of the GUPW held in Damascus in 1978. They also attended meetings of the GUPW Executive Committee in 1979. To support the steadfastness of Palestinian workers in the occupied territories and to alleviate the burden of exorbitant inflation caused by the Zionist occupation, the GUPW Executive Committee passed a resolution to assist in financing the trade unions there.



Palestinian workers from Gaza bussed to Israeli sweat shops

"ASHBAL" AND "ZAHRAT":

"PALESTINE BELONGS TO US"

The year 1979 was a rebirth for the "Ashbal and Zahrat" (the "Lion Cubs" and "Flowers", the Palestinian Boy Scouts and Girl Guides) which were established following the emergence of the Palestinian armed resistance in 1965. That year witnessed basic changes in the programmes and potentials of these groups. One aspect of this change was related to the privileged position given to education, art and sports, in addition to military training.

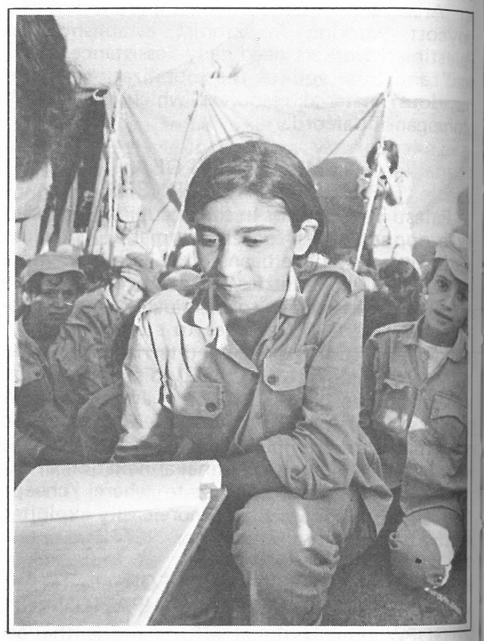
On one hand, the Ashbal and Zahrat organisation went through a transformation in its concept of the education of children. It became an organisation concerned with giving children education and development in all aspects. In co-operation with the schools its children attend, the organisation established the "wall newspaper"; pupils were encouraged to bring together their viewpoints and writings (poems, stories, etc.) The organisation also plans to set up technical schools for photography, machine repairs and electricity and to give courses in sewing, drawing and painting.

SUMMER CAMPS

Another of the organisation's new measures are summer camps, including the one in Damascus, which this year was attended by about 1,800 Ashbal and Zahrat. Another camp was set up at Souq Al-Gharb for Palestinian children living in the United States and Canada. This camp was a new experience for our children who did not know the real atmosphere of the Palestinian Revolution. During their stay the children visited the Revolution's various institutions such as Samed, the Palestinian Red Crescent, the Resistance Children's Home and many of the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon.

These children were split up among the different refugee camps, with each child staying for two weeks with a family. This strengthened the ties between the children of our people in Lebanon and in other countries.

Countries friendly to the Palestinian Revolution also expressed their solidarity by inviting our children to take part in friendship camps.



About 500 Ashbal and Zahrat went to the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, the German Democratic Republic and other Socialist states.

As part of the International Year of the Child, the Palestinian revolution gave out prizes to encourage Palestinian students. Palestinian Students' Day was held on 8 March, in accordance with a decision by PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, and grants were provided for Palestinian students who faced financial problems.

The organisation also arranged literacy courses in each refugee camp for children who had not been able to register themselves in a school, as well as for illiterate workers, both men and women.

The number of Ashbal and Zahrat has increased enormously, thus making it necessary to expand existing groups and set up new ones.

"READY TO DEFEND OUR PEOPLE"

We talked with some Ashbal and Zahrat who gave us an idea of their activities and hopes during the International Year of the Child. They were Aziza Sarnis, aged 12, sixth form; Fatima Al Hash, aged 12, sixth form; Nicolas Shehadeh, aged 12, sixth form; and Mahmoud al Shalii, aged 12, sixth form.

Q. What do you feel when there is an Israeli raid on your camp?

"Courage and anger. I want to charge the enemy and fight. Last time, I ran to get my 'Klashen' to try to shoot at the aircraft with which our enemy fights us." "I feel able to defend my relatives and my people with my rifle." "We must face up to the Zionist enemy who is destroying our camps after driving us out of our country." "I feel I can face the invader and fight to return to my country, Palestine."

Q: After the recent bombardments of the South, a great number of refugees have come to stay in Beirut. What are your feelings when you see them?

"We feel we must provide them with food and their daily needs. But also, we must go to the military bases so as to give all possible help to the combatants." "I'd like to go to the South myself to help the sick." "I felt I should be beside my brothers, the combatants." "The refugees should have stayed in their camps in spite of all the savagery of the Israeli acts of aggression, to prove that our people are much stronger than their attacks."

Q: Tell us about your visit to the friendship camps of the Socialist countries.

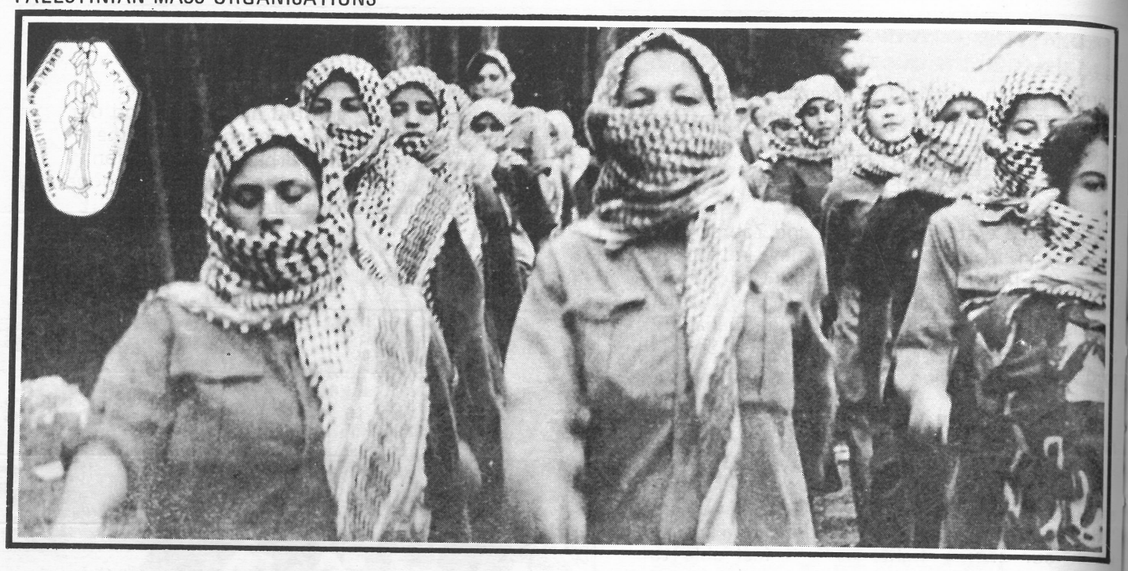
"I spent about 25 days in the German Democratic Republic where I was representing the Palestinian people. I explained the truth about how our people were driven out, and the realities of the refugees' life." "I stayed in Czechoslovakia for about a month. I told them about the oppression and suffering my people have undergone." "I travelled for 25 days in the German Democratic Republic. I spoke about the Palestinian cause as well as the daily raids and expulsions of which our people are victims." "I spent a month in the USSR. I had contacts with children from all countries who took part in the friendship camps I attended. I also explained the Palestinian cause to these children because I felt they were far away and did not understand our refugee people's cause enough. I told them about the savagery and barbarism of the Zionist enemy who bombs civilians daily in their poor camps, after driving them out of their land..."

Palestinian Ashbal and Zahrat at friendship camp in German Democratic Republic

"PALESTINE BELONGS TO US"

Q: If you were asked to speak to a Western child, what would you tell him?

"We would explain to him the reality of our struggle. We would tell him how we were driven out of our country and ask him to call on the government of his country to stop its aid, particularly its military aid, to Israel, because this aid serves to kill old people, women and children." "I would ask him not to help Israel any more and I would tell him that only the refugees can understand what it means to help an aggressor." "We would tell him firmly that Palestine is our country and we will never agree to give it up." "I would tell him he should help us, the Palestinians, and not Israel, because Palestine belongs to us, because we are the ones who were driven out of our country, the ones who are bombarded, the ones who suffer."



THE GENERAL UNION OF PALESTINIAN WOMEN:

OVERCOMING PAST BARRIERS

The General Union of Palestinian Women was founded on August 29, 1965. The founding congress was attended by 149 women representing all Palestinian parties, women's organizations and independent personalities from the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and other Arab countries. The original goal of the union was to organize progressive, political women inside the framework of the PLO in order to represent Palestinian women at all times and places. The union presently has branches in nearly all Arab countries where Palestinians live in exile. In addition, the union intends to establish new branches in countries outside the Arab world wherever there are Palestinian communities.

In the past year, the women's union focused their general programatic work to be in keeping with the United Nation's pronouncement of 1979 as "The International Year of the Child." The obstacles facing the Palestinian Revolution affect the natural growth and development of Palestinian children. 1979 was a year for the women's union to grapple with the problems of expanding children's foundations, motherhood care centers, kindergartens, childcare centers and all other institutions which provide attention to the welfare of Palestinian children.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

To help orient their work benefitting Palestinian children, the women's union participated in a number of local and international conferences. In Lebanon, the union sponsored a seminar dealing with problems facing the Palestinian Revolution and their relationship to the social conditions suffered by Palestinian children. An international conference attended by representatives of the women's union in Helsinki addressed the special situation confronting Palestinian and Lebanese children. The union's branch in Kuwait also sponsored a seminar which included participation by members of the General Union's Executive Committee, children from Tal Al-Zaatar and exhibitions provided by the union's central institutions.

In a show of solidarity with the work of the women's union, three countries were hosts for Palestinian children to attend summer camps: the USSR, by invitation from the Soviet Women's Committee; France, by invitation from the Franco-Palestinian Medical Society, and finally an invitation from Belgium in conjunction with "International Solidarity Day with the Palestinian People" on November 29.

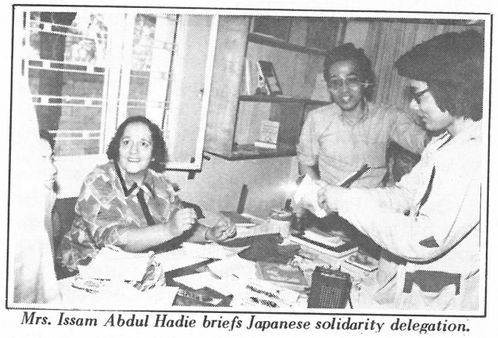
The following is an interview with the President of the General Union of Palestinian Women, Mrs. Issam Abdul Hadie:

MOBILIZING PALESTINIAN WOMEN

Q: What are the specific problems involved in organizing women to participate in the Palestinian Revolution?

A: Before 1967 we faced many obstacles in mobilizing Palestinian women to integrate their own work with that of the Palestinian Revolution. The obstacles lessened after the year 1967 — right after the occupation. In the first stages of the development of the PLO in 1964, 45 women participated in the Palestine National Congress as observers and as full members. In 1965, some of our women were members of Fatah. This means that women began to understand their role in the Resistance before the occupation. But a significant development came with the understanding of the role of the family under occupation after 1967. We still have backward traditions that prevent women from leaving the household domain and participating with men in various activities in the outside world. Our union began to deal with this problem at point zero by fighting illiteracy. It's not only a question of illiteracy among women that retards their development, it's also a question of educating them to depend upon themselves — helping them to understand that their own liberation comes through economic independence. Yet one of our beliefs is that unless our homeland is liberated, there will never be individual liberation nor the economic independence which we are working towards. The obstacles are becoming less now. There's an improvement, of course.

The union operates women's centers in the refugee camps where we teach women vocational skills in order to raise the economic status of Palestinian women as well as to raise their political and social consciousness to overcome past barriers. Then we offer women who request it martial arts classes and militia training sessions. In Jordan before 1971, we had 5 militia training camps so that women could stand side by side with men during the clashes that took place at that time. This is beneficial for women's self-defense, for defense of their homes, for



Mrs. Issam Abdul Hadie briefs Japanese solidarity delegation.

battlefield activities and for bearing arms to face the conspiracies against our Revolution.

Now the Palestinian woman works, but she still has other problems to face. She still has the problem of the traditional domestic system and the family. She has to fight against occupation inside the occupied territories and the conspiracies the Palestinian Revolution is facing outside. Palestinian women are beginning to play a role in these matters — breaking with the old traditions and habits. There are still many difficulties and we are trying our best to overcome them.

WOMEN IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

Q: Is there a difference between the role of Palestinian women inside the occupied territories and outside?

A: Yes. Right after 1967, Palestinian women inside the occupied territories were the first to begin passive resistance against the occupation through demonstrations, sit-down protests and hunger strikes. Women were the first to protest against the maltreatment of our people in the occupied territories before taking up arms. After a time, Palestinian women became members of the underground resistance movement.

I consider the role of women inside the occupied territories more significant and more important than outside. Whenever there is shooting against our people, collective punishment, torture of prisoners, demolition of houses — she protests. She goes to the ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross) in Jerusalem and tries to unveil the repression used against our people. Members of the General Union of Palestinian Women and other women's organizations have mobilized to care for the martyrs' families, for the martyrs' children — taking care of them until they are backed by the Revolution. They care for the injured too — for those who have had their houses demolished, for those who have lost their property. The Revolution is sending in compensation and backing them, but

in emergency circumstances it is the Palestinian woman who takes the initiative.

Outside, Palestinian women are now working side by side with men. They have led military operations like Dallal Al-Moughrabi. Now there are 13 women in the Palestine National Congress, one member in the Central Council of the PLO, and we are still looking forward to ~~have~~ a member on the Executive Committee. We have many women who are deportees, hundreds of women martyrs, and thousands of women prisoners. This means that Palestinian women are working.

Q: How are relations between the union and the women's movement in western countries?

A: We have learned from European women's organizations that they do not have equal rights with men and that they are fighting for that now. Sometimes they have won rights, but they are not implemented. So there are difficulties for the movement except with some political parties and progressive forces. We are looking forward to meetings and better understanding from our sisters in the western countries. This development is beginning. This understanding is taking place now and we hope that it will grow in the future.

TO OVERCOME NAZISM, FASCISM AND ZIONISM

Q: Do you think that the domination by imperialism and Zionism in the Middle East makes the problems of Arab and Palestinian women much different from women in the western countries?

A: This is part of it. Now we are facing imperialism. We are facing different kinds of aggression. We are facing colonialism in different forms. We are facing Zionism. Because we are facing all these international conspiracies against us, our role as Arab women is doubled. But European women have confronted Nazism and fascism. They mobilized all their social forces to overcome Nazism and fascism. We are presently living through some of the same history they have lived before and been killed for. That's why we want them to understand — really we do whenever we see them — we want them to understand this. Often they tell us that by nonviolence we can overcome our problems. But they couldn't overcome Nazism and fascism with nonviolence alone. They are beginning to understand this now. Now there is an opening to the sisters in Western Europe. This is promising.

Q: How are relations with women's organizations in the Socialist countries and other women's federations in the Arab world?

A: The Socialist countries were quick to understand us. They have expressed their support for and solidarity with the Palestinian people since the beginning of the occupation. It's not hard to cooperate with them because they were the first to understand us. It happened like this. It took time for western countries to understand us. But now everything is improving.

Concerning the union organizations in the Arab world: we have correct relations with some of them, but not with all of them. Some women's unions in the Arab world represent reaction. I am sorry to say that, but it's true. Some reactionary regimes are repressing the liberation movements inside their own countries. How can they understand a liberation movement outside their country? We try to have good relations with all Arab women's organizations, but with those that are not progressive — it's hard to cooperate with them.

"WE HOPE FOR STRONGER SUPPORT"

Q: What are some of the long-term future goals of the General Union of Palestinian Women?

A: Participating on all levels and in all activities of this Revolution and afterwards participating in the building of our country after victory and success. In other countries that we have studied, after the success of a revolution women often do nothing to meet their responsibilities in building the society they fought for. We are not going to do that. I hope that we will be active enough and ambitious enough to build the new society side by side with men after the initial serious battle is won. Afterwards, we have to do more to be influential in opening the way for new social ideas. There are so many women who tell you that they agree that change will come after success. They only want to put an end to the present sufferings. They are ready to endure so much for the initial success and say that afterwards we will be free. No. Our duty will last until the building of a new society.

For the New Year, we send our greetings to all women in the world. We are looking forward to decades of mutual understanding between us. We wish them the best in all their lives. We hope for stronger support in our struggle until we achieve success. We hope that all the oppressed in the world will live in peace as the Palestinian people once did in the "land of peace" — Palestine. □

DEVELOPING ARAB RESOURCES:

PALESTINIAN ENGINEERS

The conflict between the Arab nation, on one hand, and Zionism and American imperialism, on the other, is a cultural, political and economic conflict. Therefore the role played by Palestinian engineers in this conflict being waged by the Arab nation for liberation, national unity and progress stems from the importance of their skills for the development of Palestinian society. The Palestinian Revolution forges ahead in the Arab nation's struggle in the particular form of armed struggle. Alongside this, the Palestinian engineer assumes a major role in the Arab nation's struggle against underdevelopment. Many Palestinian engineers work in different Arab countries in various fields of engineering, in educational specializations which assist in the development of the best technical capabilities in different Arab institutes, colleges and universities, as well as in the field of applied sciences in agriculture and the petroleum industry. Palestinian engineers and instructors also assist in solving the agonizing housing problem which is one of the most difficult questions now facing Third World countries generally.

PROGRESS OF THE ECONOMY

American imperialism seeks to keep the Middle East in a state of backwardness, trying to bind the region politically and technologically to it, so that no independent force can emerge and rely on its own resources to develop a base for an independent Arab economy.

Engineers play a fundamental role in the development and progress of the economy of the Arab region. Arab countries must absorb advanced foreign technology and employ it in the development of the Arab nation's resources and capabilities. But this must be done in such a way as to serve Arab interests and raise the level of Arab development. This is especially vital at this time, when the Arab nation confronts different forms of foreign hegemony.

The abnormal existence of the Palestinian people, forced to live in exile and under military occupation, restricts the effectiveness of Palestinian popular organizations, including the General Union of Palestinian Engineers. This is due both to the scattered distribution of the Palestinians, and to the presence of parallel Arab unions in countries where Palestinians live, organized under the local laws in each country. But the General Union of Palestinian Engineers does serve important purposes. It builds self-confidence in Palestinian engineers and helps them perfect their skills. The union has emerged as one of the pillars of the PLO, designed in such a way that the Palestinian engineer can participate effectively with his scientific training in the activities of the Palestinian Revolution in the social, economic and military spheres.

25,000 PALESTINIAN ENGINEERS

It is possible to summarize the work and achievements of the General Union of Palestinian Engineers as follows:

1) It has compiled comprehensive statistics on the number of Palestinian engineers all over the world. These show that the number of Palestinian engineers is 25,000, who specialize in all fields of engineering. (This contrasts with the 8000 Israeli engineers present in "Israel".)

2) The union has implanted scientific concepts in the Palestinian revolution and develops its scientific committees through joint work in the PLO's centers of study and research. In this way the union harnesses engineering skills to develop Palestinian society.

3) The union assists Palestinian students in technical and vocational institutes in different Arab countries.

4) The union supports our Palestinian people inside the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, especially engineers and technical cadres. It helps them find jobs to reinforce the revolution inside Palestine and to develop social conditions so that our people in the occupied territories may stay on their land and escalate their liberation struggle.

5) During crises such as those which occurred in Lebanon in recent years, the union supports the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples against Zionist and imperialist attacks.

6) The union participates in all international and Arab conferences on science. It also holds many scientific panel discussions on its own initiative to strengthen the joint struggle with Arab engineering unions through the Union of Arab Engineers.

Finally, the General Union of Palestinian Engineers plans to issue an engineering magazine by and for Palestinian engineers. It will appear fortnightly to give Palestinian engineers the opportunity to communicate with one another and to inform their colleagues of work and research they are doing.

The Jewish Colonial Mission of Great Britain with Zionist Leader Chaim Weizmann (foreground) in Palestine, August 1918.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT CRIMES IN PALESTINE (2):

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MANDATE

By Faris Glubb

(Part 1, "The Balfour Declaration", was published in "Palestine" Vol. 5, No. 21).

Having secured the Balfour Declaration, the next priority for the Zionist movement was to ensure its implementation. As a title deed to a land which did not belong to the Zionists, this declaration, as we have noted, rested on highly dubious legal foundations. Furthermore, when it was issued, Palestine was not under British control, although British troops occupied it shortly afterwards.

The next priority, for the Zionists, was to ensure political endorsement of temporary British control over Palestine. The word *temporary* is important here, since it was on this point that the Zionists differed from the planners of imperial policy in Whitehall. Thus the British government sought to use Zionism as a means to secure Palestine owing to its strategic importance, particularly in relation to the Suez Canal, and even the ardent pro-Zionist Lord Balfour spoke of the Jews living in Palestine "in peace and quietness under British rule". The Zionists, on the other hand, desired British rule to last only as long as they needed it as a shield, but to end as soon as they had built up their strength enough to seize the country.

ZIONIST MENDACITY

For this, they had to resort to considerable duplicity. As one Zionist leader, Sokolow, described as Dr. Chaim Weizmann's closest collaborator, put it at the time: "It has been said and is still being obstinately repeated by anti-Zionists again and again, that Zionism aims at the creation of an independent 'Jewish State'. But this is wholly fallacious. The 'Jewish State' was never a part of the Zionist programme." Several other Zionist leaders gave similar assurances. "Influenced by such statements, the Cabinet of 1917 was officially advised by Sir Mark Sykes that in asking for a National Home the Zionists were not seeking a Jewish republic. That they were in fact seeking just that, is clear today."[10]

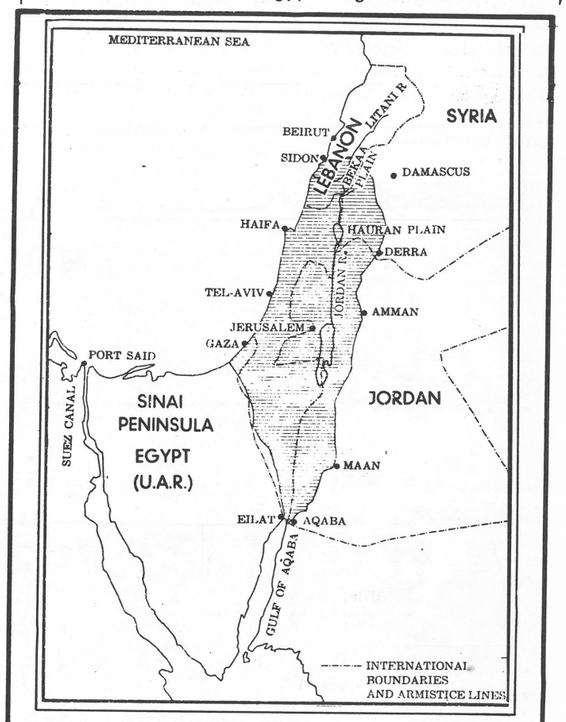
It may seem surprising that British policymakers were so gullible as to believe such assurances, particularly since Herzl's book which was in fact the Zionist manifesto was entitled **The Jewish State,** and this clearly showed Zionism's real aim. The men in Whitehall appear to have displayed cunning rather than wisdom, as their prime concern was to seize the maximum strategic advantages offered by the breakup of the Ottoman Empire. Co-operation with Zionism offered them the means to do this, and the policymakers were content to leave details of the precise form of the "national home" and its relationship to Britain to be settled later. This attitude was subsequently to exact a terrible toll in lives, not only of Arabs but also of British people. While the Zionists "got a not-undeserved reputation in the world for chronic mendacity... at the time of the (Balfour) Delcaration British ministers were not disturbed by Zionist contradictions."[11]

AMENDING SYKES-PICOT ACCORD

It is often forgotten now how intense was Anglo-French rivalry in the division of the spoils after World War I, particularly in the Middle East, where fears were expressed that it might even destroy the **entente cordiale.** Indeed, the British statesman Asquith noted that Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister when the Balfour Declaration was issued, "does not care a damn for the Jews or their past or their future, but thinks it will be an outrage to let the Holy Places pass into the possession or under the protection of 'agnostic and atheistic' France."[12]

It became necessary, for the purposes of both Zionists and British imperialists, to alter the terms of the Sykes-Picot agreement. This arrangement for dividing the spoils had now become unworkable because "British opposition to the internationalisation of Palestine was shared by the Zionist Organisation and figured prominently in the negotiations which preceded the Balfour Declaration."[13] Complicated behind-the-scenes discussions were conducted, resulting eventually in a new trade-off whereby France would secure control over what later became modern Syria and Lebanon, while Britain took Palestine, Jordan and Iraq. It is ironical that in the controversy over where the Lebanese-Palestinian border should be drawn, the Zionists and the right-wing politicians who claimed to represent Lebanon's Maronites, then respectively the clients of British and French imperialism, found themselves on opposite sides.

The more open part of this haggling was conducted at the peace conference, which opened at Versailles and was concluded at San Remo. The Zionists then pressed a claim to the greater part of South Lebanon and parts of Syria and Jordan, for "the full frontier claim submitted by the Zionist Organisation to the Peace Conference demanded a line starting on the Mediterranean just south of the port of Sidon and then running north-east up the slopes of the Lebanon, to include the greater part of the Litani and the whole of the Jordan catchment area up to its northernmost source, near Rashaya. From there, the frontier was to run along the crest of the Hermon, then turning due east to run along the northern watershed of the Yarmuk tributaries towards the Hejaz Railway at a distance of some 20 kilometres south of Damascus. At this point, the boundary was to turn south, running parallel to and just west of the Hejaz Railway to the Gulf of Akaba; the frontier in the south-west was to be determined by negotiations with the Egyptian government."[14]



The World Zionist Organization submitted its official plan for the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine to the "Peace Conference" in 1919. The minimum that the Organization would accept for a viable Jewish State in Palestine included the following:

(1) The head waters of the Jordan River in Syria and Lebanon.
(2) The South of Lebanon, up to the town of Sidon.
(3) The Southern Bekaa Valley in Lebanon.
(4) The Hauran Plain in Syria.
(5) Control over the Hijaz Railway from Deraa to Amman to Maan in Jordan.
(6) Control over the Gulf of Aqaba.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MANDATE

WAIVING INTERNATIONAL LAW

The boundaries agreed at the conference fell short of Zionist demands. But in one respect, the results of the conference, which fulfilled other Zionist aims, introduced a dangerous precedent: the decision that, where the Zionists were concerned, the principles of international law which governed the rest of the world could be waived.

The Versailles Peace Conference was supposed to follow the guidelines of US President Woodrow Wilson's famous "Fourteen Points" which also served as the basis for the establishment of the League of Nations. One of these points was the principle of self-determination of peoples. On 8 January 1918, President Wilson specifically defined Point 12 of his 14 Points as follows: "The other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development."

These other (i.e. non-Turkish) nationalities included the people of Palestine. On 16 June 1918 the British government, in an official declaration on the Arab territories of the disintegrating Ottoman Empire, stated: "The policy of His Majesty's Government towards the inhabitants... is that the future government... should be based upon the principle of the consent of the governed."[15] This principle was also implicitly affirmed in Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant, dealing specifically with former subject peoples of the Ottoman Empire, which said: "Their existence as separate nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selec tion of the Mandatory."

MANDATES IMPOSED BY FORCE

It is clear from this that the original intention of the mandatory system, at least in theory, was that a stronger power should provide "administrative advice" and assistance to those nations emerging from Ottoman rule on a purely temporary basis, to help them stand on their own feet. Despite the rather paternalistic overtones of this, the mandatory system was not theoretically meant to serve as a justification for colonialism.

In fact, things did not work out that way. The guiding principles of British and French mandates in the Middle East were not the League Covenant or the Fourteen Points, but the Balfour Declaration and the revised Sykes-Picot agreement. "The wishes of these communities" were totally disregarded, and the mandates were forcibly imposed despite the vehement objections of the vast majority of the inhabitants of Palestine, Syria and other Arab lands concerned, who were not even asked whether they wished their homeland thus to be carved up between two foreign powers.

Of course, mighty empires have ridden roughshod over smaller nations throughout history. But this was the first time it was done with such refined hypocrisy, with the blessing of an international organisation that was supposed to usher in a new era of respect for international law. "An innocuous word, 'mandate', was used and abused (a 'sacred trust of civilisation to bring forward these peoples to ultimate self-determination') and exploited without any sense of shame and decency, to fool the world."[16]

On 2 July 1919, an Arab Congress meeting in Damascus, representing the inhabitants of the regions on which the British and French governments were trying to impose their control, declared: "We reject the claims of the Zionists for the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in that part of southern Syria which is known as Palestine... We desire that there should not be any dismemberment of Syria, and no separation of Palestine or the coastal regions in the west, or Lebanon, from the mother country."

In response to this and other Arab protests, President Wilson "invited Lloyd George and Clemenceau to join him in sending an Allied Commission to Syria and Palestine to ascertain the wishes of their people. The British and French declined the invitation, but Wilson was not to be put off, and sent an all-American commision, consisting of two distinguished and impartial persons, Dr. Henry King and Mr. Charles Crane, both members of the American Peace Delegation and of the Peace Conference's Mandates Commission. They began their studies of Zionism with minds predisposed in its favour; they proceeded under the impact of the actual facts in Palestine, coupled with the force of the general principles proclaimed by the Allies and accepted by the Syrians, to recommend serious modifications of the extreme Zionist programme for Palestine of unlimited immigration of Jews looking forward to making Palestine a Jewish State... The Commission uttered a solemn warning, 'The Peace Conference should not shut its eyes to the fact that the anti-Zionist feeling in Palestine and Syria is intense and not lightly to be flouted. No British officer consulted by the Commissioners believed that the Zionist programme could be carried out except by force of arms'."[17]

British troops quelling Palestinian riots during the early 20's in protest against Zionization.

1917 Britain's responsibility for the Palestine tragedy begins. The British Government offers European Zionists a Jewish 'Homeland' in Arab Palestine.

1922 Under the Palestine Mandate British responsibility continues. Britain assists Zionists' immigration and settlement, while suppressing Palestinian protests and resistance.

1948 Britain evacuates Palestine and makes way for Zionist occupation and the creation of the state of Israel.

Britain must not avoid her responsibility in Palestine

Support the national rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and to self-determination in an independent state

Support British recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people

Act now! Write to your Member of Parliament today

THE LEAGUE VIOLATES ITS COVENANT

However, neither far-sighted warnings like this nor the appeals or protests of the inhabitants of Palestine and surrounding areas were of any avail. The League of Nations disregarded all these and proceeded to appoint Britain as the mandatory power over Palestine. This decision, together with the terms on which the Mandate was granted, can be regarded as contrary to international law in the following respects:

1) The separation of Palestine from the rest of the Eastern Arab area and its subjection to British rule was a violation by the British government of its earlier agreement to support Arab independence in a region including Palestine, as stated in the Hussein-MacMahon correspondence.

2) The League of Nations made no attempt to ascertain the wishes of Palestine's inhabitants who, according to all indications, opposed granting the Mandate to Britain. The League thus contravened Article 22 of its Covenant as well as the general principle of self-determination.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MANDATE

3) The terms of the Mandate contained the Balfour Declaration as their preamble and the basis of several of their articles. Since the Balfour Declaration was an illegal document, (as was demonstrated in the first article of this series), this made the terms of the Mandate invalid in international law.

4) By issuing Balfour Declaration, the British government had committed itself to a policy detrimental to the Palestinian people's interests. This made Britain unfit to exercise mandatory responsibilities in Palestine. The terms of the Mandate included many provisions on the Mandatory's measures for setting up the Jewish "national home." Both these facts made the Mandate contrary to a further provision of Article 22 of the Covenant, that in mandated states, "the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation."

BALFOUR ON DIPLOMATIC HYPOCRISY

Lord Balfour himself was the most eloquent witness as to how this sacred trust was betrayed. In a remarkable display of candour, Balfour included the following comments in a memorandum which he wrote (for internal British government use only) in August 1919:

"The contradictions between the letter of the Covenant and the policy of the Allies is even more flagrant in the case of the independent nation of Palestine than in that of the independent nation of Syria. For in Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country, though the American (King-Crane) Commission has been going through the form of asking what they are. The four great powers are committed to Zionism and Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long tradition, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land.

"In my opinion that is right. What I have never been able to understand is how it can be harmonised with the (Anglo-French) declaration, the Covenant, or the instructions to the Commission of Enquiry... In fact, so far as Palestine is concerned, the powers have made no statement of fact that is not admittedly wrong, and no declaration of policy which, at least in the letter, they have not always intended to violate."[18]

There was once a time, before all this occurred, when "the word of an Englishman" was proverbial expression in the Middle East and other parts of the world meaning the word of an honourable man who would keep his promise. It is due to Lord Balfour, probably more than any other individual, that "the word of an Englishman" is now used as a sarcastic term, to denote the exact opposite of what it originally meant.

Thousands of British troops were pinned down in the 1936 Palestinian uprising.

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RABIN MEMOIRS ADMIT:

"DRIVE THEM OUT"

An uncensored version of former Israeli Prime Minister Rabin's recently published memoirs reveals the mass terror techniques used by the Zionists in 1948 in order to drive the Palestinian civilian population out of their land. For a long time Zionist propaganda has tried to make the world believe that the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian farmers, craftsmen, shopkeepers and workers left their land, houses, shops and work just due to "panic" or in response to cynical orders given by the Arab governments in order to arouse world opinion against the "peaceful Zionists." Serious research, however, has always exposed the truth. The truth is that atrocious crimes like the massacre committed against the peaceful Palestinian Arab villagers of Deir Yassin by the Irgun organization, led by present Israeli Prime Minister Begin, were not isolated incidents but part of a comprehensive Zionist strategy to empty the land of its indigenous population.

The significance of Rabin's memoirs is that for the first time a prominent Zionist leader who personally participated in the military actions has admitted these facts. In the Hebrew version of Rabin's book the incriminating passages were deleted by the official military censors, and the first American edition suffered the same fate. However, Rabin's translator, Peres Kidron, apparently passed an uncensored version of the book to the news media.

BEN GURION'S ORDER

Rabin's account of the events, reported in the West German magazine "Der Spiegel" of November 12, 1979, recalls as an example of what happened at a "strategic discussion" which occurred concerning the fate of the towns of Ramle and Lydda (Lod) during the Israeli aggression in 1948. According to Rabin, who was 26 years old at the time and serving as brigade commander, he discussed the situation with Yigal Allon, then his superior and later on foreign minister in his government, and David Ben Gurion, Israel's first Prime Minister. Ramle and Lydda had between them 50,000 Arab inhabitants. "What shall we do with the people?" Allon asked, whereupon Ben Gurion replied: "Drive them out."

The immediate military aim of the action was to drive the Palestinian civilians to Arab lines, so as to put the burden of feeding them on the Arab forces in order to weaken their fighting capabilities.

"VIOLENT MEANS"

"Psychologically," Rabin records, "it was one of the most difficult tasks we ever faced." Since the inhabitants of Lydda were not prepared to evacuate their town voluntarily, Rabin says, "there was no possibility" of avoiding "violent means" and "warning shots," so as "to motivate the inhabitants to embark on the 15-20 kilometer-long march."

Afterwards, the people of Ramle already "had learned the lesson," Rabin says.

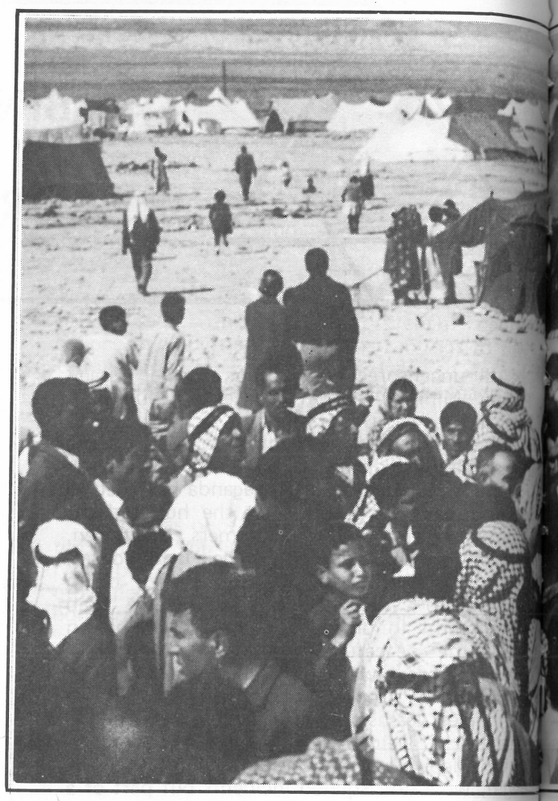
Rabin also recalls that the brutal procedures of violent expulsion met resistance even among Jews who had come to Palestine full of deceiful illusions of "friendship and humanity."

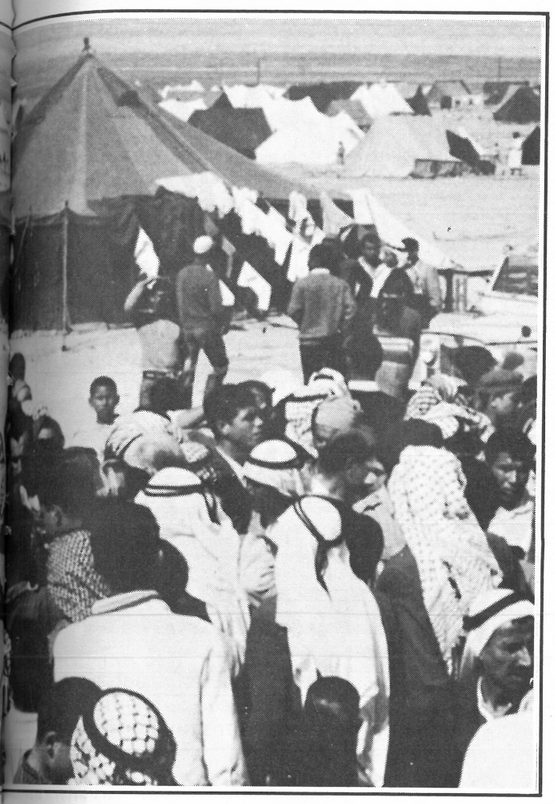
1948: Palestinians driven from their homeland

HISTORY OF PALESTINE

"IT WAS DELIBERATE ISRAELI POLICY"

Rabin's recent admissions do not differ from the accounts given by independent observers not subjected to Israeli censorship. These include the books "O Jerusalem" by Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, and "Genesis 1948" by Dan Kursman, as well as Erskine Childers' article "The Wordless Wish: From Citizens to Refugees" in Ibrahim Abu Lughod's book "The Transformation of Palestine." These and others have reported that many elderly people and children from Ramle and Lydda died during their forced march in the burning sun. After the Zionist massacre of the population of Deir Yassin, many Arabs, frightened that the massacre would be repeated in their own villages, fled their homes and farms. The militias of Begin's Irgun and of an allied Zionist terror group, the Stern Gang, had attacked Deir Yassin, lined men, women and children against the wall and executed them. These facts are also confirmed by, among others, the records of the Red Cross. Concluded Collins and Lapierre: "It was deliberate Israeli policy" to drive the Palestinian Arabs from their homeland.





ABU JIHAD:

"I WILL NEVER FORGET THAT DAY"

In the summer of 1948 there was a grocery shop in the Arab town of Ramleh, which stood inland about sixteen kilometres from the new Jewish city of Tel Aviv and the old Arab port of Jaffa. The grocer's son, Khalil Wazir, who was twelve years old, used to play with the Jewish children who lived near by. The two communities had lived beside each other in relative harmony. The conflict over Palestine had not yet touched his young life. The tranquility was destroyed suddenly. On that July day the grocer's son — who is now better known to Palestinians as Abu Jihad [member of Fateh's central committee and member of the General Command of Al-Assifa forces], joined the remnants of 700,000 Arabs who fled from their homes in terror, out of Palestine into exile in the diaspora — so bringing to its desired conclusion the strategy initiated so spectacularly with the massacre at Deir Yassin.

Abu Jihad recalls what happened:

"I will never forget that day. The men had gathered together. And they were saying that the Jews were going to do us what they had done in Deir Yassin. That they had surrounded the town and were about to enter it. I was frightened, terribly frightened. And then my mother and my sisters and I went to the church. The whole village went to the church. It was packed. And I remember the archbishop standing in front of the church. He was holding a white flag, and the Zionist troops came into the town. And the archbishop said to them, 'We are civilians, not soldiers, not fighters. Leave us in peace.' They talked for a long time. And then some of the soldiers came into the church. And they picked out some of our youths. And they took them away and no one knew where they had gone.

"Afterwards we came out and the picture will never be erased from my mind. There were bodies scattered on the road and between the houses and down the side-streets. I can't forget it even now. No one, not even women or children, had been spared if they were out in the street. This was the first stage. After that, you might say, they dismissed us — they drove us out of the homes, and out of the town."

(source: Jonathan Dimbleby, "The Palestinians," London 1979)

BOOK REVIEW: EVERYMAN'S GUIDE TO THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM

"BITTER HARVEST - PALESTINE 1914-1979", by Sami Hadawi (Caravan Books).

When the first edition of *Bitter Harvest* was published shortly after the June 1967 war, it was rapidly acclaimed by serious students of the Palestinian problem as an extremely useful concise reference work. Since then, as the author states in the Preface to this newly-published second edition, "many happenings have taken place", and this updated version fulfills an important need by recording and analysing these recent developments against the background of the earlier history of the problem.

Bitter Harvest is valuable because of the wide scope of material it contains and the wide variety of people to whom it should appeal. It is not only a readable narrative account of how the whole mess now known as the Palestine problem was created, largely through the unscrupulous manipulations of big-power diplomacy. It also includes precise analyses of the position of international law on various aspects of the Palestinian problem such as the 1949 armistice, the status of the refugees, the Arab Boycott of Israel, the question of "freedom of navigation" and Israeli violations of human rights including racial discrimination.

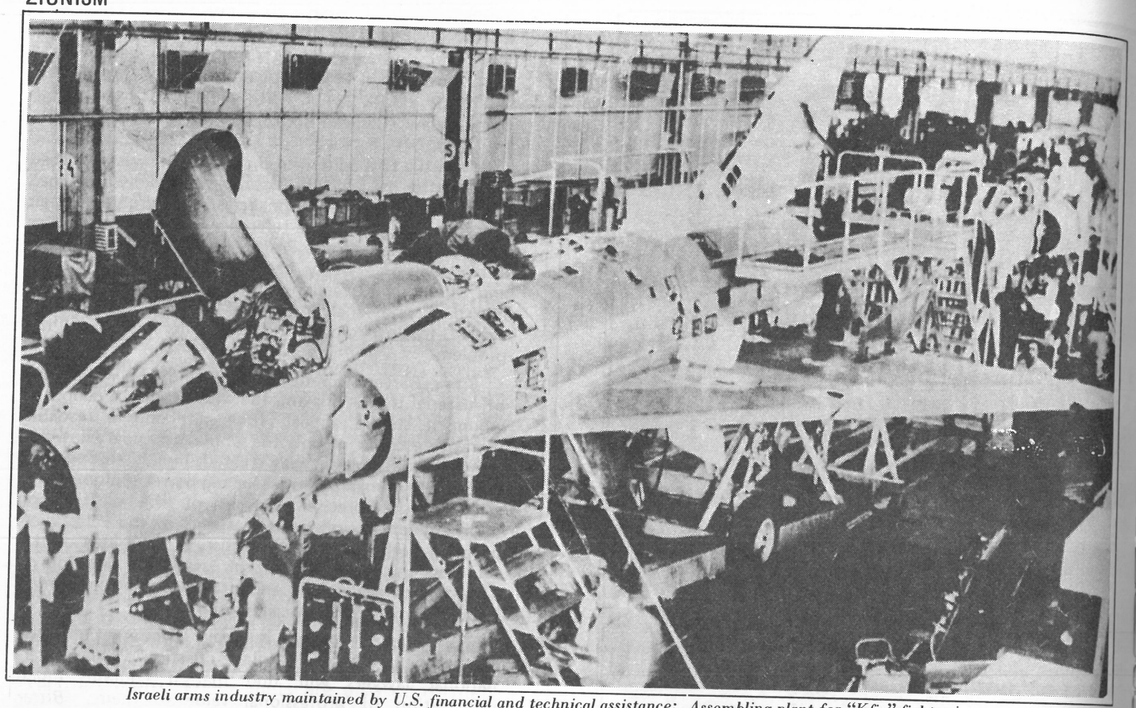
This does not mean it is simply an international law textbook on the Palestinian question. While international lawyers will find that it contains much information of professional value to them, *Bitter Harvest* also explains the issues at stake in language that any reasonably educated layman will find easily readable and understandable.

The updated portions of the book, covering events from late 1967 up to this year, includes the rise of the Palestinian Resistance as a political, military and diplomatic force, UN resolutions and peace efforts and a factual unemotional account of Sadat's course of appeasement which led him through the Knesset and Camp David to the signature of the Washington treaty with Israel and the United States. The author's comments on the efforts to build up a US-Israeli-Sadatist axis to replace the Shah as regional "policeman", and the likelihood that this axis will eventually crumble, are serious food for thought for Western readers.

It seems likely that the second edition of *Bitter Harvest* will provide an even more useful "Everyman's guide to the Palestinian problem" than the first edition. Certainly it deserves to be more widely read. Although the first edition was printed three times and translated into Italian and German, it was not distributed through retail booksellers in the West. Where not actually under Zionist control, the retail book trade in most Western countries is subjected to heavy Zionist pressure to prevent the distribution of even the most objective statements of the Palestinian case.

It is time the Western public woke up to the fact that this practice, apart from showing that the Zionists have much to hide, threatens the whole concept of free speech in Western countries. It is to be hoped that sufficient curiosity about Palestine has now been aroused among English-speaking people for the second edition of *Bitter Harvest* to find a market of the size it deserves.

FARIS GLUBB



Israeli arms industry maintained by U.S. financial and technical assistance: Assembling plant for "Kfir" fighter jets

ZIONISM AND MILITARISM

Reliance on military force, violence and terror has been the essence of the Zionist entity because racism constitutes an integral part of the Zionist state's sectarian ideology. Jews, Christians and Muslims have lived for centuries in the holy land of Palestine. This harmony was disrupted only when the Zionists began to claim that Palestine rightfully belonged to them to the exclusion of its Muslim and Christian inhabitants, and began to resort to violence to attain their aims.

The origin of the Israeli army, like those of many other Zionist institutions in Palestine, can be traced back to the wave of Zionist immigration to Ottoman Palestine from Europe between 1900 and the outbreak of the First World War. These immigrant settlers, who naturally met resistance from the Palestinians they intended to uproot, set up a terrorist organization in 1909 known as the Hashomer, to displace Palestinians.

The British occupation of Palestine in 1917 paved the way for the British Mandate in the country from 1922 to 1948. Throughout the Mandate the British authorities in Palestine were guided by the infamous Balfour Declaration of 1917, which committed Britain to the establishment of "a national home for the Jews" in Palestine. Thus Palestine witnessed a greater influx of Zionist immigration as Britain strove to set up the Jewish "national home." This Zionist influx created new apparatus to serve the Zionists' aim of rapidly expropriating Palestinian land. Following the 1920 Palestinian riots protesting Zionist immigration and settlement, the Zionist movement decided to set up overt country-wide armed units. These armed and organized terrorist units which spearheaded Zionist designs became known as the Haganah.

The Haganah, together with its terrorist counterpart the Irgun Zvai Leumi, supported by the British army and financially assisted by the United States, cleared Palestine of most of its inhabitants, thus paving the way for the establishment of the exclusivist Zionist state of Israel.

David Ben Gurion, the first Prime Minister of the Zionist state, said on 26 May 1948, 12 days after the declaration of independence: "With the establishment of the State of Israel the Haganah has left the underground to become a regular army." Thus a decree was issued the same day renaming the Haganah the Zahal, the Israeli army.

Ever since "leaving the underground," the Israeli army, in fulfilment of the Zionist policy of expansion and annexation, has carried out several atrocities against the Palestinian and Arab people, including the 1956, 1967, 1973 and 1978 wars of aggression. This makes the Zionist army different from any other armed forces outside of present day South Africa and the forces of Nazi Germany. The Israeli army is an army set up to carry out the forcible expulsion of a people in order to set up a racist state and to maintain the expansion of that state.

THE ECONOMY OF MILITARISM

Armed terrorism being the backbone of the Zionist ideology, Israel spends over 40 per cent of its budget to maintain its army. The Zionist state spends over $31,748 annually per soldier, which is the highest figure in the world. The whole settler population of Israel is involved in the war establishment in one form or another to the extent that the Zahal's magazine "Bamachaneh" defines Israelis as "soldiers on leave eleven months of the year."

Most of the expenses of the Israeli army have been borne by the U.S. taxpayer for over 30 years. The U.S. Administration does not visualize a different policy in the future. On the contrary, President Carter has been promising "eternal" support to the State of Israel ever since he came to office, which is more than what the Zionists claim God has promised them. U.S. "security assistance" alone for the year 1980 exceeds $1.7 billion, which is higher than that allocated to Europe, Latin America and Africa put together. U.S. aid notwithstanding, Israel's external debt has passed $3,200 per capita, the highest in the world. Inflation in 1979 topped 100 per cent and the economy is in ruins.

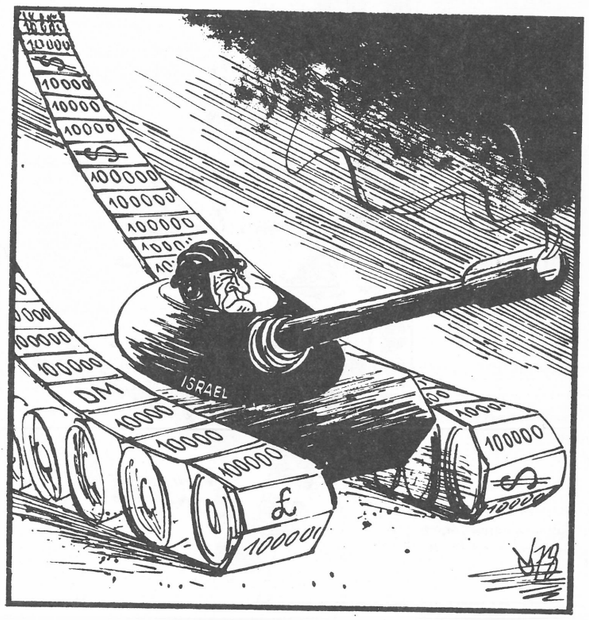
Even pro-Israeli senators in the United States have started admitting the economic collapse of Israel. Sen. Kemp of New York, addressing the U.S. Senate on June 13, 1979, said: "In two years the Israeli pound has plummeted from 11 to the dollar to 23 to the dollar....By attempting to squeeze the population of 3,700,000 in order to pay interest on the $12 billion external debt, the government has gone well past the point of diminishing returns. Much of the economy now operates at the barter level." Sen. Kemp points out that "two thirds of the budget is chewed up by defense outlays," and concludes, "the correct economic strategy is to convert the tax structure to a peacetime footing" (Congressional Record, June 13, 1979).

The remedy to the Israeli war economy crisis lies in a genuine peace in the Middle East, which can only be attained by exposing the bankruptcy of the Zionist ideology, which assumes that force and terror will somehow liquidate the Palestinian people, and assumes that Israel can exist by maintaining an aggressive policy. Only when this ideology is exposed and dispensed with can the Israeli economy be put on a "peace footing." But is that the path being taken by Israeli economic and military experts?

ACCELERATION OF MILITARIZATION

Israeli strategists and economists alike have been profoundly rethinking Israel's military and economic strategy since the October 1973 war. They have noticeably chosen to accelerate the militarization of the Israeli settler-colonial society. A major component of this has been the Israeli arms industry.

Back in 1973, Yetz Chak Ironi, the Israeli Defense Ministry's Director-General, boasted over Radio Israel: "Israel now produces 60 per cent of her total defense needs. Within a few years we will export more arms abroad than citrus fruits." Likewise Israel's military exports have risen from $100 million in 1973 to $600 million in 1979. Though this figure may give the impression that Israel can solve her economic problems by following an aggressive policy of



ZIONISM

ZIONISM AND MILITARISM

exporting military wares to any state that desires them, a closer examination of this activity proves the contrary.

THE ISRAELI ARMS INDUSTRY

The Israeli arms industry, like all other Israeli undertakings, was inaugurated with U.S. economic and technical assistance. A memorandum of understanding was signed to this effect on November 1, 1971 between the director of the Israeli purchasing mission in the U.S. and American officials. The Israeli Ministry of Defense, assisted by the USA, has built a network of state owned military industries, including Israeli Aircraft Industries (IAI) and the Israel Armament Development Authority.

The IAI, Israel's biggest industrial enterprise, employs over 20,000 workers. Over 100 firms hold sub-contracts with IAI, which brings the sum total of this firm's employees alone to 32,000 or 11.5 per cent of Israel's industrial workforce. This percentage point is 1.5 per cent more than the USA's industrial workforce employed in military industries, the U.S. being the world's biggest arms supplier! A further 20 firms are known to be run by the Ministry of Defense producing ships, artillery, small arms and ammunition.

Israeli women forced to make their living in arms production

The Israeli government's expenditures on war and war industries is over 40 per cent of its total expenditure. This means the Israeli government is spending money in the sector where there is no significant return to the economy, nor is there increased production of goods to meet the growing local demand.

Moreover the so-called "products of Israel" like the IAI warplane, the Kfir C-2, which actually is a French Mirage design with a U.S. J-79 General Electric engine, are in fact made from parts brought in from the U.S. and Europe and are merely assembled in Israel. Thus there is no such thing as a "made in Israel" heavy weapon.

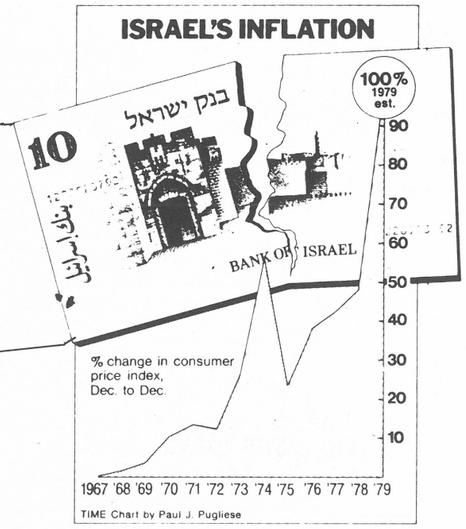
The purchasers of Israeli arms are South Africa, Rhodesia, Taiwan, El Salvador, South Korea, Brazil, Honduras, Guatemala, Mexico, Ecuador, Argentina, Chile and some West European countries. Nicaragua had been one of the major recipients of Israeli arms, but the break in relations between the two states after the Sandinista victory illustrates a major reality facing Israeli military sales adventurism. A close examination of Israel's remaining trading partners leads one to conclude that a trade policy with regimes that are attempting to move against the mainstream of world events cannot last.

Irrespective of these realities Israeli strategists have declared their intention of producing a new generation of fighters for sale in the 1980's. Israeli experts maintain the plane will have an Israeli-designed engine. The cost of the plane will exceed $2 billion, which is an astronomical figure compared to the country's total budget of $ 12 billion. Moreover Israel has to attain massive production and massive longterm sales to bring down the unit cost of such a project. The economic viability of such an adventure, given Israel's economic, labor and market potential, is nil.

Israel is still dependent upon U.S. arms to maintain its quantitative and qualitative superiority over its Arab neighbors, and will continue to be so for the foreseeable future. Massive American assistance notwithstanding, Israel is plunging deeper and deeper into an economic crisis. At the root of this crisis lies Israel's state ideology, Zionism, based on aggression, terror and expansion. The remedy certainly does not lie in additional US assistance or further Zionist military adventurism, including arms production, but in the realization that Zionism and economic growth are incompatible.

ISRAEL'S ECONOMY:

ONE MORE NAIL IN THE COFFIN OF THE ZIONIST DREAM



With the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli agreement, the focus in the troubled Middle East has turned to the West Bank. What is rarely discussed in the context of these moves is the deterioration of the Israeli economy and the increasing economic pressures on the coalition government of Prime Minister Menachem Begin. Plagued with the greatest military burden per capita of any country in the world, and dependent on American assistance for its basic needs, Israel is entering into the most difficult economic phase in its history.

The balance-of-payments deficit in 1978 was $3.25 billion, equal to almost one-fourth of the country's gross national product. The government's budget last year was almost as large as the national output, meaning that in both years funds from abroad were necessary to cover the government's commitments. One-third of the budget is allocated to defense and one-third to repay external debts, which implies that the only way out is for the Zionist government to further slash social spending.

Hyperinflation in particular has seriously undermined the stability of the Likud coalition government. Public opinion polls in Israel suggest that the issue of inflation is of greater importance to voters than any foreign policy issue. In 1978 inflation reached 48.1 per cent. The level of prices increased 50 per cent in comparison with 1977. In December alone the prices of food rose by more than 5 per cent. For the whole year the most important increases were those of fruits and vegetables (70 per cent), medical fees (64 per cent), apartments (58 per cent), and clothing (56 per cent). Looking at the distribution of inflation one notices, as Mr. Meshel, the secretary of the Histadrut, stated: "The victims of the economic situation are the economically weak and large families, given that their consumption for the most part goes to necessities where inflation is at its peak."

WIDENING GAPS

Socio-economic indicators are no longer capable of showing the extent of the problem. But the social and ethnic gaps continue to widen, even if the figures are not registered anywhere. Fifteen Israelis are taking a trip around the world in luxury yachts costing $13,000 to $22,000 each. But six per cent of the state's population, or 210,000 people, live under the poverty line, and 15 per cent, or 525,000 people, are borderline cases. ("Inflation" by Paul Teitlbaum, in "New Outlook", July-August 1979, p. 39.)

The concept of poverty is not absolute, but relative. The "poverty line" shifts with inflation. The upper 20 per cent of the population receives twice its share of the income it used to receive 20 years ago. The lower 20 per cent receives only one-fourth of its share. Income distribution is actually less egalitarian in Israel than in all European countries, despite the fact that Israel began its economic life with egalitarian slogans which gained her the help of many socialists all over the world. "Inequality in Israel has incresed by 70 per cent during the last 25 years." (*"Le Monde"*, 20 January 1979).

Poverty in Israel belongs to a race and has a color. The most recent survey of the urban population's expenditures showed that 55 per cent of Oriental Jews are in the lowest three-tenths of society and 12 per cent in the top three, while for Western Jews the respective figures are 36 per cent and 80 per cent. The net annual income per person is IL 1214 for Western Jews, IL 676 for Oriental Jews, and IL 435 for Arabs. The average Western Jew thus has 80 per cent more to spend than the Oriental Jew and

179 per cent more than the average Arab.

The ethnic gap exists in employment patterns as well. A labor force study found that around 60 per cent of Oriental Jewish employees work in industry or services. Over half of the Western Jews, however, work in the professions. Western Jews outnumber Oriental Jews in professional and management positions by a 4:1 ratio.

DEPENDENCE ON AMERICA

Israel's worsening economic crisis, as detailed in the pages of this magazine during the past year, has made the country dependent more than ever before on outside aid, especially from the United States. Assistance from the US, now at unprecedented levels, is essential to the everyday workings of the Israeli economy.

The Egyptian-Israeli treaty, far from easing economic pressures on Israel, will only magnify them. Israeli economic officials do not expect the treaty to make possible any cutbacks in military spending. In fact, the Israelis are now obliged to allocate more and more of their budget to internal security because, with the Camp David agreements and treaty, the Palestinian Revolution has intensified its military operations inside Palestine. Ironically, what Israeli officials sometimes refer to as "the problem of peace" will require huge new military outlays. Relocating the lines of defense from the Sinai to the Negev will impose on Israel an external debt of $12.2 billion. The treaty has also meant the loss of the offshore Alma oilfield, which produces more than 30,000 barrels of oil per day, or some 20 per cent of Israel's oil needs. If one adds to this Israel's loss of Iranian oil, one sees the Zionist state has been thrown into greater dependence on the United States for its energy.

FADING ILLUSIONS

Although Israel had the highest growth rate in the world during the 1950s and 1960s, this was mainly because of the $18 billion it received in the form of grants and loans from abroad. (Nadav Safran, "Israel: The Embattled Ally") Zionism was presented then as the only hope of the Jews who had been threatened with extermination by Hitler. The creation and support of Israel was an easy solution for the guilt complex Europeans had about a group of people whom they had terrorized for so long. Therefore Israel attracted foreign capital and immigrants in large number.

But today Zionism stands revealed as the ally of imperialism and fascism. Israel's $600 million increase in exports last year came from goods shipped to countries like Chile, Somoza's Nicaragua and South Africa, which had a hard time filling their orders elsewhere. This, along with Israel's hopeless economy and growing vulnerability to Palestinian commando attacks, has weakened Israel's appeal for Jewish immigrants. More than half of the Jews emigrating from the Soviet Union wind up in the United States rather than Israel. Of the roughly 40 per cent that do go to Middle East, many are old people seeking a place of retirement.

So the illusions which fed and nourished Zionism are fast fading. Economic bankruptcy has joined moral bankruptcy to put an end to the deceptive Zionist dream.

Israeli living in "temporary" asbestos huts demonstrate for better housing outside of the Haifa townhall.

ZIONIST IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT POLICY

Jewish immigration during the British Mandate from 1918 to 1948 from both eastern and western European countries was one of the main factors which led to the establishment of Israel on Palestinian Arab land. The facilities which were provided by the British Mandatory authorities for Jewish immigration to Palestine furthered the establishment of a Zionist state through outright military occupation of Palestinian land in 1948. The establishment of this state has led to the dispersion and expulsion of the Arab Palestinian people from their homeland through expropriation, confiscation of property and all the oppressive measures within the reach of the Zionist occupation authorities. The Zionist authorities, after occupying Arab lands, began to establish Jewish settlements for foreign Jewish immigrants.

JEWISH IMMIGRATION: A MEANS OF EXPANSION

Jewish immigration is coordinated by the Jewish Agency, various Zionist organizations and the Israeli state. Zionist immigration policy is not merely aimed at transferring immigrants from one country to another, but serves Israeli expansionist schemes.

Successive Israeli governments have established dozens of Jewish settlements in the Arab territories occupied in the war of June, 1967. During the last twelve years Israeli authorities and Zionist organizations abroad have employed various schemes to influence Jews to immigrate to Israel to be "repatriated" in the occupied Arab territories. "Yediot Aharanot", an Israeli daily, reported Aryeh Dulzin, Director of the Executive Committee of the World Zionist Organization as saying earlier this year: "There are 250,000 Jews thinking of immigrating to Israel, and we do our best to bring them to this country." Begin's government is still "committed to its desire to settle 100,000 Jewish immigrants in the occupied West Bank", Moshe Arens, Head of the Foreign Affairs and Security

Signpost at Zionist settlement on the West Bank: land seizure becomes "land reclamation"

Committee in the Knesset, reported in an interview with Israeli radio on October 26, 1979. "To carry out such a broad settlement plan is not possible without confiscating Arab land," Arens added. To carry out such an "overall settlement plan" in the occupied Arab territories, Arens projected that Israeli law should be imposed on "main areas in the West Bank."

The issues of colonization and the establishment of settlements in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights was one of the election disputes which led to the formation of Begin's government. General Sharon, the Israeli "Minister of Agriculture" (the minister in charge of settlements), has repeatedly stated that failing to implement a pervasive settlement policy would be tantamount to jeopardizing the existence of the whole Zionist endeavor.

IMMIGRATION TENDENCIES AND FIGURES

Zionist organizations and Israeli authorities are presently concentrating their major activities on Soviet Jewish immigration to Palestine. But despite the Zionist boasts and inflated projections about Soviet immigration, the whole policy has been an abject failure. Raphael Kotlevitz, Head of the Immigration and Integration

ZIONIST IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT POLICY

Department of the Jewish Agency, stated recently that he does not expect a mass immigration even if "peace" is established. Although Israeli immigration authorities expected that 50,000 Soviet Jews would be permitted to get exit visas in 1979, they didn't expect more than 15,000 Soviet Jews to finally arrive in Israel.

Although Zionist propaganda is in full gear to attract huge numbers of Soviet Jewish immigrants, landing new immigrants is only half of the Zionist dilemma. A society that is in a constant state of military alert and economic crisis does not seem to be very attractive to new immigrants: most of them leave as quickly as they have arrived. The current "drop-out" rate among Soviet Jews has reached 80%. This is hardly encouraging for Zionist immigration policy since Zionist organizations consider the USSR the last source for Jewish mass immigration to Israel. Most Soviet Jewish immigrants opt for settlement in the U.S. or Western Europe.

New immigrants in Israel: "The ones who have been brought here to make up their minds, leave at the first opportunity."

Herman Branover, himself a Soviet immigrant, wrote in the "Jerusalem Post" on October 29, 1979 about what would happen if all Soviet Jewish immigrants were to go to Israel: "Hundreds of thousands of letters full of condemnation are sent to Russia every week. Among those still in Moscow or Leningrad, the indignation increases. The ones who have been brought here to make up their minds leave at the first opportunity." Commenting on Zionist propaganda trips for Soviet Jews to encourage them to settle permanently in Israel, he adds: "... Out of hundreds brought from Rome to Israel for a trip by the Jewish Agency not more than a couple ed to stay. All the money and effort spent inging them here was completely wasted."

In another insidious immigration plan in 1979, Zionist immigration officials did their best to exploit the Iranian situation. Before the overthrow of the Shah, they worked out systematic plans to push Iranian Jews to immigrate to Israel. The Immigration and Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency clandestinely dispatched three envoys to Iran at the first signs that the Shah's days were numbered in order to "convince" Iranian Jews to move to Israel. A special fund was created with capital of IL 20 million to provide grants for Iranian Jews and to exempt them from customs fees. This scheme also proved to be a failure.

The Israeli daily "Davar" reported early in 1979 that out of the 20,000 Iranian Jews who left Iran, only 7,000 went to Israel. Moreover, in spite of the tempting accommodations, only 3,000 Iranian Jews would end up staying.

ZIONIST IDEOLOGY IN CRISIS

Zionist officials have always expressed their anxiety about the increase in "drop-outs" among Jewish immigrants from European countries. They also fear increased emigration of Israelis themselves and newcomers after only a short stay in Israel. Zionist organizations claim that this drain is due to a maldistribution of responsibilities between the Jewish Agency and the Israeli government. But Raphael Kotlovitz, Head of the Immigration and Integration Department of the Jewish Agency, stated recently that Israel's economic and "security" problems are the main cause of immigrant "drop-outs".

Recent years have witnessed a mounting rate of emigration from Israel. 250,000 Israelis have migrated to the United States and Canada. An envoy from the Israeli Ministry of Labour and Welfare attached to the Israeli Embassy in the U.S. stated in an internal memorandum made public this year that "100,000 Israelis have emigrated to North America in the last four years." According to a joint study published by the Research and Planning Department of the Israeli Ministry of Integration in cooperation with the Central Bureau for Statistics and the Jewish Agency, covering the period 1969-1978: 2% of all immigrants leave Israel within only one year after their arrival. Within 3 years 12% of all immigrants emigrate. As for the immigrants from Western Europe and the U.S. – their emigration rate totals 32%. The Israeli daily "Ma'ariv" reported on April 20, 1979 that as of that date for 1979 – there had been **no** Jewish immigration from the United States to Israel!

ZIONIST CAMPAIGN

The Israeli government in coordination with Zionist organizations is desparately trying to curb the numbers of "drop-outs" and the emigration phenomenon. Zionist propagandists spend much of their time and money trying to convince prospective immigrants not to land in any country other than Israel. But when the Jewish Agency held a conference in Rome in early 1979, the President of the Jewish Agency, Aryeh Dulzin, commented that he was "astonished" to "discover that Jewish immigrants did not know anything about Israel." Not only that, but he claimed that "they were mobilized against the Jewish state."

Zionist Prime Minister Begin has campaigned against the Jewish Agency giving any aid to Jewish "drop-outs". There are also intensive Zionist efforts to close Vienna as a transit point for Soviet immigrants and to establish transit camps in another western European country having better relations with Israel. Meanwhile, Israeli authorities are trying in vain to convince Soviet authorities to grant exit visas which would allow Jewish immigrants to leave for Israel directly.

In 1978, on the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the Zionist state, the Israeli government organized a campaign aimed at reviving immigration to Israel. The campaign was comprised of a series of temptations and accomodations like offering residence facilities in new Israeli settlements established in the occupied territories and granting immigrants 60% of their travel costs. In addition, Israeli authorities promised not to take any measures against those who emigrated to escape military service if they would return to Israel before April 30, 1980. Commenting on these measures, the Israeli daily "Ha'aretz" reported this year that the campaign failed and that many of those who returned during the campaign re-emigrated after having made use of the offered monetary enticements.

While Zionist organizations and the Israeli government are failing to curb the increasing percentage of "drop-outs" and emigrants, the Israeli authorities are escalating the confiscation and expropriation of Arab lands in the occupied territories. This settlement policy attempts to influence Jewish immigration so as to fulfill Zionist expansionist schemes. ▢

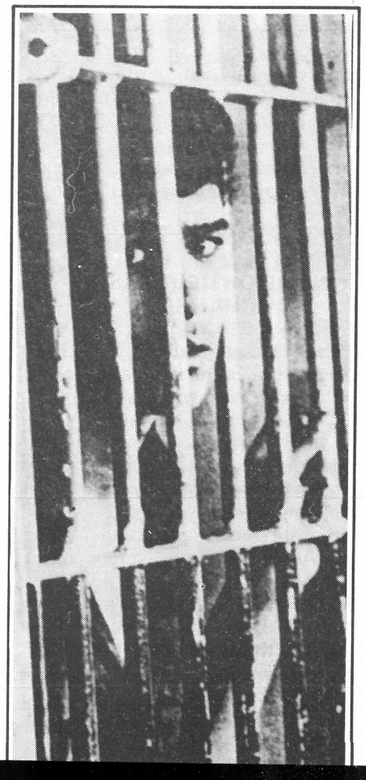
ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

MORE PALESTINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

Israeli occupation authorities continue to jail scores of Palestinians for their resistance activities, in addition to the tens of thousands already incarcerated in Zionist prisons. Among others, in December 1979, the following people were sentenced; all charged with affiliation to the Palestinian revolution and resisting the occupation forces.

Gaza: On December 4 Jamal al-Farra was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, and Suleiman Abu Rjeileh and Abdel Rahim Abu Hatab were each sentenced to 8 years.

On December 10, Tareq Abdel Shafi was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment, Raji al-Sourani to five years and Moussa al-Sourani to 4 years' imprisonment.
Ramallah: On December 10, Nimr Abu Shusha was sentenced to one month imprisonment and fined IL 10,000; his son was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and fined IL 15,000, while his sister was fined IL 10,000.
Jerusalem: On December 18, Khairi Abu Hannoun was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment, and Issam Nasser was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

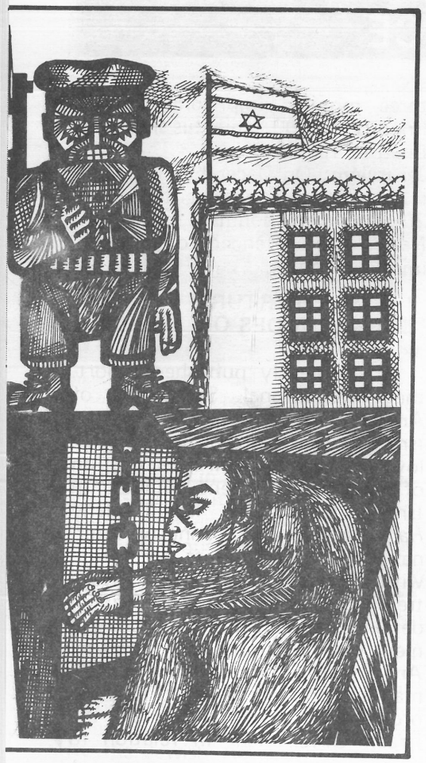


TORTURE GOES ON

In a recently published report, the International Secretariat of Amnesty International accused the Israeli military authorities of employing torture in their interrogation of Palestinian citizens detained in Israeli jails. The Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* said that Amnesty International backed up its accusation with clear evidence of the savage treatment of the Palestinian detainees, which the Israeli government will find impossible to refute. An Amnesty International spokesman in London confirmed that the organisation had questioned the Israeli Government in relation to

their findings, but had not yet received any answers. The spokesman added that Amnesty's letter included documentary proof relating to the prolongation of the period of administrative detention, lack of medical care, and the general maltreatment of the detainees.

Earlier this year, the U.S. daily the *Washington Post* published the cables of U.S. consular official Alexandra Johnson, which showed clear evidence of systematic torture practised by the Israeli authorities against Palestinian detainees. This itself corroborated the findings of the 1977 *Insight* report in *The Sunday Times*. In related news, an Israeli court in Jerusalem passed sentences against two Israeli policemen on charges of torturing a number of Palestinian citizens, causing lasting mental and physical damage to these citizens. The two policemen are Aharon Michaeli, sentenced to two years, and Shimon Grisario, sentenced to one year. According to the court, the two policemen put a Palestinian prisoner's head in a sack and beat him savagely, as well as abusing him sexually.



BRUTALITY AGAINST ARRESTED STUDENTS

Progressive Jewish lawyer Felicia Langer on December 18, sent a strongly worded protest to Dr. Waldheim and some other international bodies exposing the torture practiced by Israeli jailers against three Palestinian students in the Moscoubiya jail in occupied Jerusalem. Langer called for pressure on the Israeli authorities to release the imprisoned students, and asked that the authorities responsible for these brutal practices be brought to trial. Langer declared that she saw the scars on the imprisoned students' bodies, confirming that these practices voilate the most basic human rights and international laws and conventions. She added that she had visited the students, Intissar al-Shaykh Qassem, Adla Yehia and Yussra Moussa from the Jalazoun Camp. Langer sent the protest memoranda to Isareli Defence Minister Ezer Weizman, to the legal advisor in the Begin government, and to other Knesset members.

NAME OF DEIR YASSIN CHANGED

The Israeli authorities have changed the name of the village of Deir Yassin, West of Jerusalem, to a new Israeli name, "Mount Nou." This comes within the Israeli Judaization policy which the Israeli authorities are trying to implement by changing the names of cities and mutilating their Palestinian character. According to Israeli newspapers, the Israeli authorities intend to establish a new settlement on the lands of Deir Yassin, with more than two thousand apartments.
The villagers of Deir Yassin were subjected to a massacre carried out by units from Zionsit gangs during the 1948 War. These gangs were headed by Menachem Begin, the present Prime Minister. More than 200 Palestinian villagers were killed.

ISRAEL SQUEEZES WEST BANK AGRICULTURE

The Israeli authorities, in another move in their aggressive expansionist policy in the occupied territories, on December 27, offered IL 50 to every Palestinian farmer who would agree to pull down an orange tree on his farm under the pretext of conserving water resources. Palestinian villagers condemn the measure, which aims at driving them off their lands and transforming their farms into arid wastes which would later be seized by the Israeli forces.

HARASSMENT AGAINST CHURCHES IN JERUSALEM

Officials of the Russian Orthodox Church have strongly protested to the Israeli government over vandalism and harassment against Church facilities and personnel in Jerusalem, the news agency Tass said on December 29. Tass quoted Metropolitan Juvenal of Krutitsky and Kolomensky, head of the Moscow patriarchate's department of external ecclesiastical relations, as saying: "These bandit outrages cause damage to buildings for worship in holy places and moral damage to the personnel of the mission — clergymen and nuns." He said that during the past two years there had been a record high number of incidents involving "vandalism and insults to religious freedom of representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church in Jerusalem. "We are compelled to turn to international public opinion," Metropolitan Juvenal said, adding: "If the situation remains unchanged, we might have to address the United Nations." □

1979 — A YEAR OF ISRAELI AGGRESSION AGAINST LEBANON

Israel's vicious and sustained assault against South Lebanon in 1979, coming as it did shortly after the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli "peace" treaty in Washington on March 26, unmasked the true significance of the treaty for the Middle East. In effect, a tripartite Egyptian-American-Israeli alliance against progressive and nationalist forces in the Arab world gave Israel a free hand to pursue her expansionist ambitions in Lebanon and to act as imperialism's bludgeon there.

Israel was aided in her aggression by puppet right-wing Lebanese forces stationed in a strip of Lebanese territory running along the Lebanese-Israeli border. These puppet forces, commanded by renegade Lebanese Army Major Saad Haddad, owe their presence in South Lebanon to Israel, which turned the border region over to them after Israel had conquered it and other parts of South Lebanon in March 1978. This handover violated United Nations Security Council Resolution 425, which called for *all* Lebanese territory occupied by Israel to be turned over to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). But instead the border strip remained under *de facto* Israeli occupation as Haddad's forces, armed, paid and supplied by Israel, took up positions there. UNIFIL was prevented from fulfilling its mandate and could

The victims of Zionist carpet bombing in South Lebanon

occupy only a part of the territory seized by Israel in the 1978 invasion.

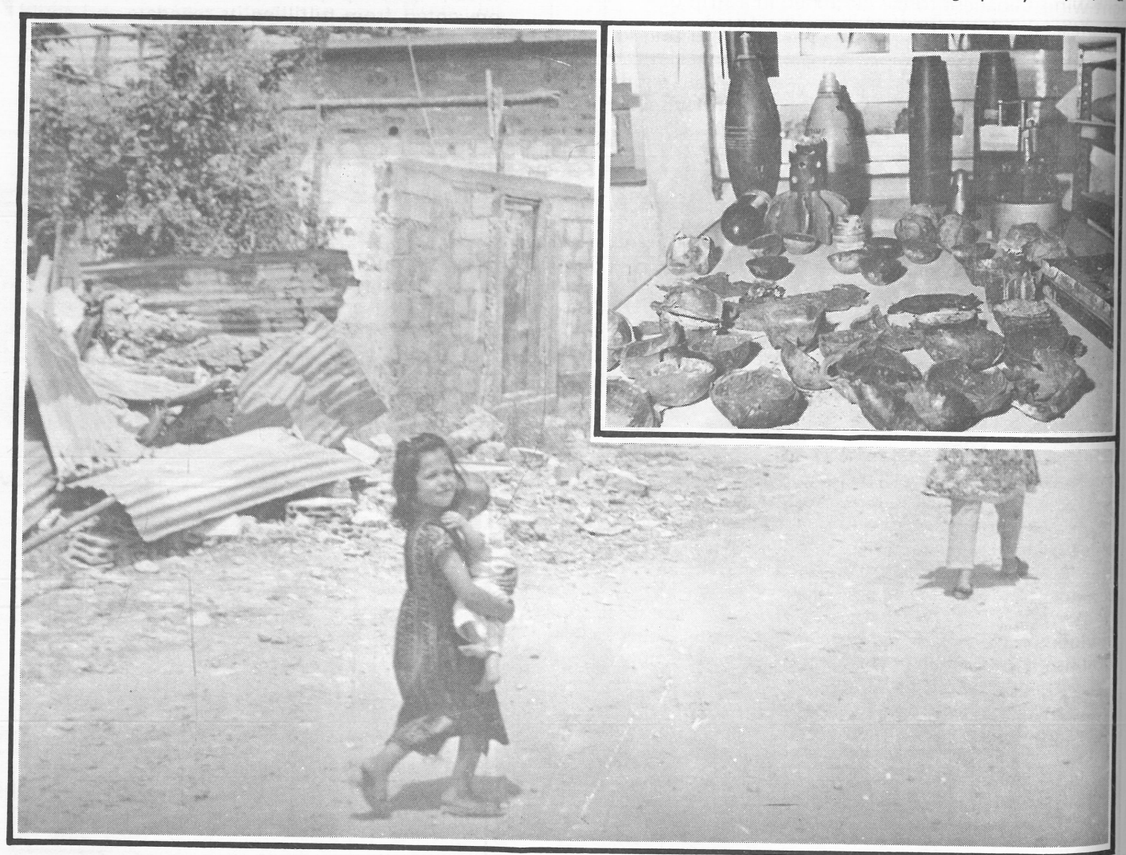
LEBANON EXPOSED TO THE FURY OF "PEACE"

From June 1978 until March 1979, Israel used Haddad's forces to probe United Nations lines and threaten villages under UNIFIL's protection. Israel hoped that Haddad's (and therefore its own) area of control in South Lebanon could be extended by such tactics, but because of the ongoing treaty negotiations with Egypt and the United States, Israel felt constrained from launching full-scale attacks into Lebanon. After the treaty was signed, however, and Egyptian subordination to American and Israeli strategy assured, Israel stepped up her aggression and the inhabitants of Lebanon were among the first to taste the bitter fruits of the "peace" treaty.

The Israeli attack took many forms. Naval, air and artillery forces indiscriminately bombarded towns and villages in South Lebanon and up and down the Lebanese coast. Israeli and rightist troops made numerous forays into villages adjoining Haddad's zone, threatening them with dire consequences if they did not join Haddad. These forays were also aimed at demoralizing the UN forces in the hope that they would withdraw from the region, or at least acquiesce in the gradual incorporation of more and more territory into Haddad's enclave. Along with the military escalation there was a political one; in April Haddad declared his zone "independent" of the rest of Lebanon and vowed that his "State of Free Lebanon" would "liberate" the remainder of the country.

ISRAELI TERRORISM, AMERICAN WEAPONS

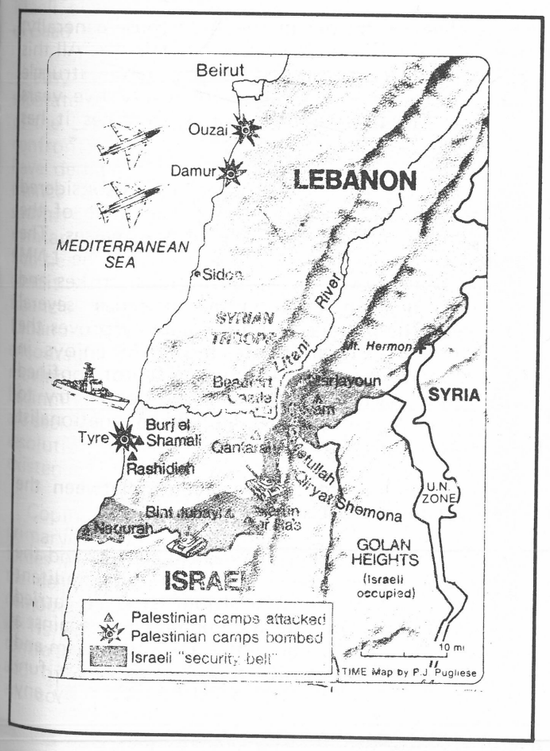
Israel's attacks were deliberately aimed at Lebanese civilian targets with horrific results. Two of the bloodiest attacks included one against a Lebanese wedding party (yes, a wedding party) near Tripoli in May, and another against the corwded coastal highway near Damour on a Sunday afternoon in July. The historic port city of Tyre was pockmarked with shell-holes, and its Christian quarter was especially hard hit at the very time when Israel was issuing hypocritical statements about her "duty" to "defend" Lebanese Christians. In the onslaught Israel used her latest American-supplied weapons, including F-15 fighter bombers, cluster bombs, fragmentation shells and phosphorous shells (akin to napalm). Thus the United States shared responsibility for Israel's crimes. This arsenal was used against Lebanese and Palestinian civilians in their homes, schools and fields; hundreds of Lebanese civilians were killed, and in August (at the height of the Israeli attacks) an estimated 300,000 South Lebanese were living as refugees in Sidon, Beirut and other parts of Lebanon.



The human cost of U.S.-supplied bombs the Zionist drop on Palestinian and Lebanese people refugees from South Lebanon.

Israel calculated that her use of state terrorism would accomplish three things:

First, South Lebanon would be emptied of its population. Thousands would flee in terror, while others would be forced to follow because of their inability to eke out a living on their land as Israel burned crops and bombed irrigation networks. By reducing South Lebanon's population and ridding it of the farmers and townspeople who would otherwise defend their land and homes, Israel was removing a major obstacle to her eventual incorporation of the area, either directly or through the medium of Haddad's forces. Israel has long-standing territorial ambitions in South Lebanon, a region of great fertility and valuable water resources. If UNIFIL should be forced to withdraw from Lebanon at some point then an Israeli grab for territory is sure to follow. As the experience of 1948 in Palestine demonstrates, Israel prefers to acquire other people's land without the people on it.



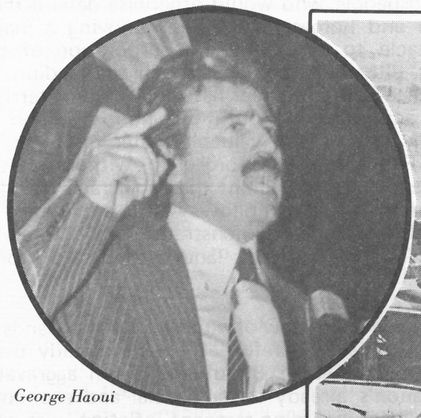
Second, the flow of hundreds of thousands of largely unskilled refugees to the already overcrowded cities of Beirut and Sidon aggravates Lebanon's already serious social and economic problems, including rampant inflation, war profiteering, housing shortages and unemployment. By creating refugees and worsening this situation Israel keeps the Lebanese government preoccupied with day-to-day problems, preventing it from shouldering its national responsibilities and from effectively challenging Israel's expansionist designs and hegemony in the border region.

Third, by striking at Lebanese civilians, Israel hopes to drive a wedge between them and the Palestinian Revolution. The Palestinian Revolution has always depended on the steadfastness of the South Lebanese for support, and although Israel's attempt has failed and Lebanese-Palestinian relations remain close, the toll of civilian lives and property has been heavy.

INTERNATIONAL OUTCRY AGAINST ISRAEL

When Israel's attacks reached new levels of savagery in the summer, cries of international outrage at Israeli atrocities grew so loud that Israel had to stop and reconsider her tactics. The United States was embarrassed, not because the U.S. objected in principle to what Israel was doing, but because Israel's use of American-supplied weapons in the carnage focused international hostility on America as well. At the end of August Israel reduced the scale of her attacks in South Lebanon, but did not end them. Her puppet forces continued to intimidate and threaten villages in the UNIFIL area, and in November and December Israeli and rightist artillery attacks on South Lebanese villages increased.

It is clear that Israel has not abandoned her goals in South Lebanon, but is only awaiting a favorable opportunity to resume the attack. Unfortunately 1979's year of Zionist terror is not likely to be the last for the beleaguered people of South Lebanon.



George Haoui

LEBANESE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

DEFENDING LEBANON AGAINST ZIONIZATION

The Lebanese National Movement (LNM) is the alliance of the progressive national forces in Lebanon. It comprises various parties and groups of Lebanese socialist, Nasserite, Baathist, progressive Christian etc. tendencies. Last year, Walid Jumblatt, the leader of the Progressive Socialist Party and son of the martyred patriot Kamal Jumblatt, one of the founders of the LNM, addressed the readers of *"Palestine"* (Vol. 5 January 1979). This year George Haoui, Secretary General of the Lebanese Communist Party, on the part of the LNM answered the following question for *"Palestine"*.

Q.: Can you explain the present role of the Lebanese National Movement?

A.: The Lebanese National Movement has proven to be the main force in our people's struggle against the most brutal imperialist-Zionist-reactionary conspiracy against Lebanon, the Palestinian cause as well as the Arab nation. It has also proven to be the true representative of the Lebanese national cause. The LNM has defended Lebanon's unity, its national independence, Arabism and democratic development. It has fought Israeli aggression and faced the problem of liberating occupied enclaves in South Lebanon. The LNM has played a leading role in asserting the Arab national identity of Lebanon relative to its role in the Arab cause generally, and in the Palestinian cause in particular. All this has been demonstrated by the heroic struggle that the LNM has waged for nearly five years now and by the tremendous sacrifices it has made.

It is on this basis that the LNM is considered the legitimate leader and representative of the Lebanese national struggle of the masses. The mass popular response to appeals by the LNM has been shown in demonstrations, strikes and rallies held in Lebanon over the past several years. The popular response tangibly proves the extent of the influence the LNM enjoys in Lebanon. The LNM's influence is not confined to one particular sect as some people try to depict. It enjoys the support of nationalist sectors in all communities.

Q.: How do you view relations between the LNM and the Palestinian Revolution?

A.: The relationship between the LNM and the Palestinian revolution is a natural and militant one. It is a relationship of joint struggle carried out in one trench for a common cause against a common enemy represented by imperialism and Zionism. We consider this relationship a fundamental principle in the stand taken by any Arab nationalist force. Our joint struggle with the Palestinian Revolution is not just a mere principle for the LNM. It is a practical reality in daily life and has been baptized by martyrs' blood.

The LNM considers the Palestinian cause as the primary issue facing the Arabs and pivotal in this stage of their struggle. The danger which threatens the Palestinian cause threatens every Arab country and every Arab nationalist force. In confronting this common danger, the Palestinian cause constitutes a unifying factor for the Arab masses and Arab confrontation forces.

Q.: What specific efforts are being employed by the LNM in facing the dangerous situation presented in south Lebanon?

A.: The Arab summit resolutions of Tunis consider the problem of south Lebanon as a problem of Israeli aggression and occupation. They call for the extension of legal Lebanese sovereignty over the whole area of south Lebanon and for cooperation between the Lebanese government and the PLO on the basis of agreements signed between both of them. In the view of the LNM, these resolutions form a positive basis for tackling the problem of the south in a sound way. They require an explicit political stand by the Lebanese authorities towards the Israeli occupation and the tutelage "mini-state" of Saad Haddad.

Any plan for the south should not be separate from plans addressing all other aspects of the Lebanese crisis, especially concerning the confrontation with the reactionary militias who have dedicated themselves to a "Zionized" existence within Lebanon. To seriously help the southerners in remaining steadfast, parliamentary authorities must solve the serious difficulties the southerners face in their living conditions. This could be done through the huge financial assistance the Tunis Summit promised Lebanon. But the stand of the authorities is not encouraging at all in this respect. They are moving in the opposite direction. They are beginning to disown the summit resolutions and are seeking to confine the implementation of the resolutions to excising the national Palestinian existence from the south.

Coping with the danger in south Lebanon is a primary responsibility for Lebanese nationalist forces as well as for all forces concerned with the destiny of Lebanon, its unity, Arabism and democratic development. The LNM is exerting all its efforts to fulfil this responsibility, concentrating on mobilizing its forces, politically and militarily, and on strengthening its unity and coalescence with the Palestinian Revolution.

Q.: How do you view the future of the Middle East in terms of recent regional political developments and the "energy crisis"?

A.: Recent developments represent the overwhelming Arab rejection of the Camp David accords which have reached a serious deadlock. We can see recent victories achieved by the Palestinian Resistance inside the occupied territories, on the international level and in the United Nations. Also we can see the victory of the Iranian revolution in particular. The success of the Iranian revolution is actually a significant turning point in the region. It is in the interest of the Iranian people's liberation struggle and in the interest of the Palestinian and the Arab struggle. The Iranian revolution is waging a fierce battle against American imperialism and is complemented by a broad movement of peoples in the region against the U.S. What makes these developments important is that they occur at a time when the U.S. and its allies are suffering from a serious economic crisis. The "energy crisis" is only one of the more apparent indicators. The defiance the U.S. is facing now in our region and others is a sign of acute political crisis for the US. It is a crisis of a regime and of a policy and not a crisis of a person or of a certain administration. This emphasizes the fact that the U.S. can only interfere in our area as a result of our own weakness in confronting it and not as a result of its inherent power.

The major task for the whole Arab nationalist movement is still to counter and destroy the Camp David conspiracy. To achieve this, it is necessary to strengthen the program for Arab confrontation to a more progressive level. We must wage a direct battle against the U.S. and its interests in the region by employing all weapons — including oil. It is necessary to support the Iranian revolution and to wage a joint battle with it against the threats of the U.S. It is necessary to support the Palestinian Resistance in unity with all Arab nationalist forces and continue to work to consolidate the strategic alliance with the Soviet Union and the Socialist Bloc. The future will be one of critical changes which are in the interest of the Palestinian cause in particular and the Arab cause in general.

We take this opportunity to pay fervent revolutionary respects to Comrade Yasser Arafat and to all his militant companions who fired the first bullets of the revolution. This revolution not only became the revolution of the Arabs alone, but it has become one of the most important revolutions internationally. It is one of the key elements in the international struggle and for the struggle within the imperialist countries. The Palestinian Revolution will attain victory.

PART OF A GLOBAL AGGRESSIVE STRATEGY

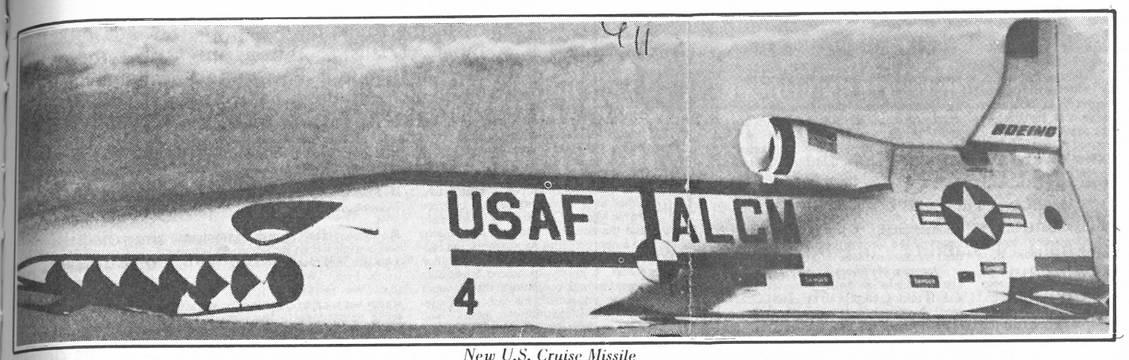
U.S. FORCES NUCLEAR MISSILES ON WESTERN EUROPE

(Although the following analysis was written before the recent events related to Afghanistan and Iran, it has since been confirmed. It also proves the utmost hypocrisy of the U.S. anti-Afghani and anti-Soviet propaganda and the call for a blockade of Iran. Obviously, the Carter Administration tries to "justify" ex post facto and to further escalate all the provocations it has initiated before: the "Human Rights" campaign against the socialist countries, the delay of SALT, the Camp David pact, the explosion in U.S. oil profits, the escalation of U.S. military spending, new U.S. missiles in Western Europe, the attempt to play a Chinese military card, the U.S. military build-up in the Middle East, the Gulf and the Indian Ocean, the hosting of the Shah, the seizure of Iranian assets etc. Moreover, the U.S. is now trying to force its "friends" in Western Europe, Japan, the Middle East and elsewhere to join in an aggressive policy of global confrontation. In doing so, the brokers of U.S. arms and other monopolies are well aware that these "allies" of the U.S. will be the first losers and victims, both economically and in terms of their stability and security.)

After weeks of heated debates and increasing U.S. pressure, the NATO Ministerial Council during its Brussels session on December 13, accepted plans for new U.S. intermediate (medium-range) thermonuclear missiles to be directed against the Soviet Union from Western Europe. After the U.S.-Israeli-Sadat Camp David plot in the Middle East, this NATO decision signals another aggressive move on the part of the present U.S. administration with respect to its global relations with the Soviet Union.

It came only 6 months after the presidents of the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT-2) on June 18 in Vienna. Under SALT-2 both sides committed themselves to limiting their strategic nuclear arsenal to equal ceilings and pledged that each side was "not striving and will not strive for military superiority." The NATO provocation also came only weeks after Soviet President Brezhnev's announcement of a unilateral withdrawal of 1,100 tanks and 20,000 troops from Central Europe and the offer of immediate negotiations on a reduction of medium-range "European theater" nuclear weapons. These weapons are not covered by SALT-2, but are to be included in the SALT-3 talks originally envisioned to follow the Vienna signing.

Now, the U.S. and NATO want to station in Western Europe *108 U.S. Pershing-2* missiles (range 1,000 miles), and *116* ground-launched



New U.S. Cruise Missile

U.S. *Tomahawk Cruise* missile launchers with four Missiles each (range 1,500 miles). Altogether they would carry *572 new highly accurate and powerful* thermonuclear warheads. Introduction of these new quasi-strategic missiles means a *qualitative change* for the European "theater":

"For the first time, the Europeans are asked to host nuclear weapons capable of carrying death and devastation into the very heart of the Soviet Union, and at the same breath, they realize that they would thus become a prime target for destruction." (A commentator in the "International Herald Tribune", October 10, '79)

As a matter of fact, these land-based missiles, if stationed in Europe, can hit the U.S.S.R. with precisely the same devastating effect as strategic missiles stationed in the U.S. which now are limited by SALT-2.

Most significantly, all the Pershings and a large majority of the Cruise missiles are to be stationed *in West Germany,* with Britain and Italy taking the rest.

The U.S. is *ready to pay alone* the production costs of at least *6 billion* dollars for the missiles which will also be kept under the *exclusive control* of the U.S. (up to now, U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe have their warheads controlled by the U.S., with the carriers controlled by the host state in what is called a "2-key" system). It has also to be noted that at least the Cruise missiles would be able to hit targets in parts of the *Middle East,* too.

THE LIE OF THE "GAP"

The new U.S./NATO nuclear plans have met with protests in Eastern Europe and considerable resentment and even demonstrations by the West European public, particularly in the smaller NATO countries. In order to justify the new missiles, U.S., West German and British leaders whipped up a propaganda campaign issuing numerous statements and "warnings", especially after the signing of SALT-2. They created a new theory of an allegedly threatening nuclear "gap" between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. This "gap" allegedly made a "modernization" and "catching-up" armament program (i.e. the new U.S. missiles) an "inevitable must". This "gap" theory, like so many similar ones before, has no basis in reality.

According to Western sources, the U.S. already has positioned 7,000 "tactical" nuclear projectiles against the Warsaw Pact countries from West European bases, mainly in West Germany. At least 500 of these missiles are admittedly capable of striking at the Soviet Union. These figures do not include the number of U.S. strategic weapons based in Western Europe which are covered by SALT-2, mainly the U.S. Strategic Air Command and the U.S. Poseidon and Polaris submarines. Neither do they take into consideration the French and British independent nuclear potential. Soviet sources state that the U.S. alone has stationed all in all 9,000 nuclear warheads in Western Europe with at least 3,000 of them directed against targets in the Soviet Union.

As for the figures concerning the other side, even Western sources do not claim that the Soviet Union in fact has directed more than 2,100 against Western Europe. Present Soviet replacement of older SS-4 and SS-5 models with the SS-20 missiles does not really change the existing nuclear balance. The SS-20's are to carry all in all a slightly increased number of more accurate warheads, but their charges are considerably smaller. (For all the statistics see, for instance, the West German magazine "Der Spiegel", November 5, '79).

Many serious Western strategic experts have also dismissed the alleged 'gap" theory outright. The head of the Defense Commission of the Dutch Parliament, de Vries, openly criticized NATO's nuclear rearmament plans: Western offi-

U.S. IMPOSES NUCLEAR MISSILES ON WESTERN EUROPE

cials were overestimating the Soviet Union's overall nuclear power. He warned against a new "arms race". He "was concerned by an emerging U.S. tendency to neglect disarmament as a way for military stability in Europe." "NATO was stirring up *divisive political trouble for itself* without first trying to negotiate hard and visibly enough". ("International Herald Tribune", November, 11, '79).

President *Brezhnev*, in the Berlin address of October 6, '79, stated that the overall number of land and airbased nuclear carriers directed against Western Europe, and moreover their overall explosive power, had been *decreased* in recent years. This was even once confirmed by *Pentagon* sources:

"Defence Department projections indicate that the Soviet Union has begun to *reduce* the overall number of bombers and missiles to deliver tactical nuclear warheads to targets in Western Europe." ("International Herald Tribune", October 16, 1979).

SOVIET OFFERS AND WARNINGS

In his address of October 6, President Brezhnev announced a unilateral troop withdrawal, "as a concrete demonstration of the love for peace and the goodwill of the Soviet Union and its allies." This Soviet troop withdrawal has in the meantime begun as announced. He also explicitly stated that the Soviet Union would negotiate a reduction of its intermediate-range SS-missiles if NATO refrained from acquiring the new U.S. missiles. Furthermore, he declared that the Soviet Union would never use nuclear weapons against these states which refused to acquire these missiles.

On the other hand, he sternly warned Western European countries, and in particular *West Germany,* against deploying the new U.S. missiles which would result in a *qualitative change* in the nuclear balance in Europe:

"We must say bluntly that the implementation of these projects would radically change the strategic situation on the continent. Their aim is to break the balance of forces that has come about in Europe and to try to ensure military superiority for the NATO bloc."

Western Europe would not find more security, "rather the other way round". The Warsaw Pact would respond with politically and military "essential additional steps".

In the following weeks the Soviet Union and other socialist countries intensified their contacts throughout Europe and Scandinavia. West Germany was warned in particular of the military and political consequences which would follow the missiles' deployment, if it were to once again become a base for aggression against the U.S.S.R. as was Nazi Germany. The Soviet Union also warned that a *U.S.-West German nuclear axis* emerging under the disguise of NATO would threaten the whole of Europe.

The *foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact* states, in their Berlin Communique of December 5, '79, called for immediate negotiations on all European theater nuclear weapons and also warned that a NATO decision to produce and station new types of U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe, "and the implementation of this decision would *destroy the basis for negotiations."*

The Soviet news agency "Tass", in a comment of December 14 — after the acceptance of the U.S. missiles by NATO — declared that the decision had "destroyed the basis for negotiations with the Soviet Union on medium-range nuclear weapons". "Pravda" called the decision an "assault against peace", but also pointed to the dissension within NATO and to the massive pressure which had to be exerted by the *"U.S.–West German pincer"* in order to get the decision through.

WESTERN EUROPEAN SECOND THOUGHTS

In fact, the NATO decision was not a unanimous homogeneous one. The *Netherlands* and *Belgium* delayed their acceptance of the stationing of the missiles. *Denmark* and *Norway,* which are not slated to station any of the missiles themselves, expressed their deep reservations.

Dutch anti-nuclear protestors:
Holland delayed acceptance of stationing new U.S. missiles.

Italy, facing strong internal opposition, accepted only reluctantly. The West German government, while pressing for acceptance, at the same time tried to show its urgent interests in further negotiations with the Warsaw Pact countries, calling Brezhnev's earlier offer "positive" and a sign of "serious will to negotiate". Only the U.S. and British attitudes were completely hostile.

In order to appease widespread public reservations and internal dissension, the NATO decision *linked* the resolution on the stationing of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe from 1983 onwards with an *offer of negotiations* to the Warsaw Pact countries on nuclear and conventional disarmament in the coming years. It also called for the verification of SALT-2 and supposed early negotiations on SALT-3. Even U.S. President Carter tried to present the decision on the introduction of qualitatively new U.S. missiles onto the European scene as "a major step towards greater arms control and a reduction in the arsenals of both conventional and nuclear weapons." (Associated Press, December 7, '79.) That this cannot be taken seriously as the real U.S. point of view becomes evident from the simultaneous: statement made by the U.S. NATO Commander for Europe, General Rogers, who bluntly expressed the fact that the "U.S. Congress would never make hundreds of millions of dollars available for the production of the weapon systems, if their deployment was not secured."

Rogers made it also unmistakably clear that the U.S. considered the stationing of the new missiles in Western Europe as a definite necessity no matter what the outcome of negotiations was.

U.S. LOSS OF NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY

Since the "gap" propaganda on the nuclear potential of NATO versus the Warsaw Pact is obviously untrue, one must ask what the real reasons are behind the feverish eagerness with which the U.S. presses Western Europe for the imposition of new missiles which would remain under exclusive U.S. control. One of the reasons is that the strategic nuclear potential of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union has reached a level of more or less global equality.

SALT is the consequence of a development in which the U.S., after decades of a global nuclear superiority, had to acknowledge that a strategic thermonuclear war between it and the U.S.S.R. had become a danger which was no longer acceptable. As U.S. columnist Anthony Lewis put it in the "New York Times" of June 18, '79:

"The fact is that the U.S. now has enough nuclear warheads to hit every Soviet city over 100,000 in population 34 times, the Russians enough to hit each of our cities 28 times."

Or, as former U.S. National Security Adviser and Secretary of State Kissinger described it last September: "Perhaps even today, but surely in the 1980's, the U.S. will no longer be in a strategic position to reduce a Soviet counterblow against the U.S. to tolerable levels." ("International Herald Tribune" October 26, '79)

The loss of U.S. nuclear superiority already had found its expression in the U.S. President's "Directive" of August 25, '77, stating that Americans should exclude the danger of any exchange of strikes using the central strategic nuclear systems, since such an exchange would result in *American losses of 140 million people* and *Soviet losses of 115 million people.*

REGIONAL IMPACTS

U.S. loss of global nuclear-strategic superiority has decisive *regional* strategic and political implications, too. Earlier, U.S. imperialism was able to bring its globally superior nuclear influence to bear in all those regional "theaters" and conflicts, which, like the Middle East, South East Asia and above all Western Europe, are geopolitically closer to the Soviet Union than to the U.S. With this nuclear preponderance and tutelage now being neutralized, U.S. political predominance in these regions necessarily diminishes.

U.S. HEADS FOR NEW ARMS RACE

However, for the U.S. imperialist hard core and U.S. multinational capital this development is hard to accept. On the one hand, they still try with all sorts of domestic and international obstacles to sabotage SALT-2, although its ratification is vital for the security and economic interests of the American people and its allies too. On the other hand, they try to undo SALT-2, or escape its political consequences.

Contrary to SALT-2 and the planned SALT-3, U.S. imperialist circles still try to *outpace* the Soviet Union in a new arms race in the hope that they might *regain* a strategically decisive overall nuclear *superiority.* A comment in the "International Herald Tribune", June 6, '79, on the U.S. plans for production of a new $ 60 billion mobile MX missile system admits that:

"While the Pentagon spends billions of dollars to make the U.S. nuclear arsenal accurate and powerful enough to knock out Soviet ICBMs (intercontinental ballistic missiles), it is searching for ways to keep Russia from doing the same thing to the U.S. If this search is successful, Pentagon leaders say, the U.S. could *ride out a first strike* and fire back only in retaliation"

U.S. IMPOSES NUCLEAR MISSILES ON WESTERN EUROPE

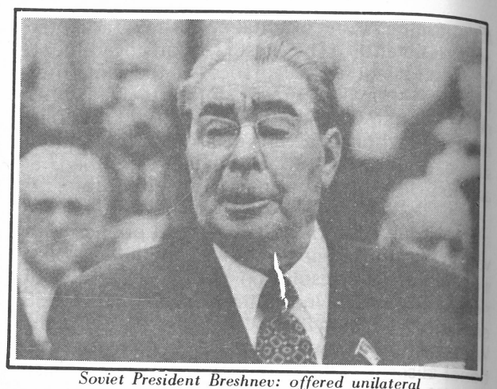
The stationing of the new, additional and quasi-strategic missiles in Western Europe also aims at escaping and circumventing SALT-2. Given the enormous military-industrial, technological and financial potential of the West, imperialist circles in the U.S. also calculate that they could outbid the Soviet Union in a new arms race by exhausting both the USSR and the socialist countries economically and financially. (See U.S. columnist Rosenfeld, in "International Herald Tribune", November 7, '79, analyzing the position of U.S. Defense Secretary Brown.)

The new frantic and aggressive U.S. drive for deployment of new nuclear weapons also has its *domestic* rationale. Some circles in the U.S. believe that *boosting military production* could provide a way out of the growing internal economic and social crises. Even those circles in the U.S. which are convinced that the attempts to regain global and regional military supremacy and control are as hopeless as they are dangerous give way to these moves in an attempt to appease *growing chauvinist tendencies* in the U.S.

U.S. GRIP ON ITS "ALLIES"

Given the present global nuclear stalemate in its confrontation with the Soviet Union, the U.S. tries to "regionalize" this confrontation in Western Europe and elsewhere in the world. "The U.S. wants to *continue military competition* with the Soviet Union on regional levels. From this point of view, the U.S. *needs its allies.* Hence the new weapons for NATO." (Valentin Falin, former ambassador to West Germany, now a close foreign policy adviser to Brezhnev, in an interview with West German "Der Spiegel", November 5, '79)

This new U.S. strategy is not only directed against the Soviet Union but even against the so-called allies of the U.S. themselves. With the loss of its global nuclear superiority, the U.S. fears a *lessening* of its overall economic, political and financial *grip* over its "allies" particularly in Western Europe. This comes at a time when the *economic difficulties and competition* within the imperialist Camp have increased, especially between U.S.-based multi-national monopolies and those which are European-based and Japanese-based. A recent NATO internal study ("Lord Avon Study"), parts of which were published in the Western press (see British "Guardian", October 4, '79), identifies the areas of friction within the NATO alliance as: "the poor performance of the dollar; U.S. indifference to the international consequences of its devaluation; U.S. reluctance to supply enriched uranium to Western Europeans; trade competition; trans-Atlantic conflict over energy and oil policy."



Soviet President Breshnev: offered unilateral European troop reduction on October 6, 1979

By imposing missiles to be directed against the Soviet Union from Western Europe, the U.S. tends to chain its allies and competitors completely to the strategic and overall destiny of the U.S. This parallels U.S. attempts at preventing these "allies" from embarking upon forms of separate cooperation with neighbouring socialist countries and the Soviet Union.

"Among the political reasons behind the stationing of the new U.S. missiles in Western Europe, Washington considers not only the reinforcement of the unity of the alliance – which otherwise would be threatened by erosion – but moreover the fact that it would diminish Soviet influence on the European NATO member states, in particular the Federal Republic of Germany", comments the leading strategic columnist of the West German rightwing "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung", November 5, '79. The Chairman of the Young Socialists section of the West German ruling Social Democrat Party, Schroeder, in turn explained his party's opposition to the new U.S. missiles with the fact that "the potential of these weapons under the exclusive control of the U.S. prevents the Federal Government from deciding on its own the speed of detente policy with Eastern Europe." ("Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung", December 6, '79).

BRZEZINSKI'S THREATS

U.S. Security Adviser *Brzezinski* responded to President Brezhnev's October 6 European troop reduction offer in a rather threatening speech on October 10, '79. He warned against the "danger of intimidation" and strongly pressed Western European countries to accept the U.S. missiles without delay:

Chancellor Schmidt and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko meet: West German dilemma.

"We can take effective action now. This means the deployment of strong, theater-based systems capable of reaching Soviet territory. The true test of NATO's purpose lies with our allied parliaments and publics. Are they willing to pay the political price required to avoid the infinitely more costly alternative of intimidation at best and even *war at worst?"* He also explicitly warned against the threat of *"nuclear warfare confined to the European area",* thus hinting in however veiled form, that both superpowers including the U.S. had the option of making Europe alone the field for a "limited nuclear war". This warning was issued in case Western Europe harbored any intentions of becoming "neutralized" in the present context of the global nuclear stalemate. Other U.S. Senators and NATO generals issued similar warnings, calling the Soviet offers also an "attempt at blackmail." (U.S. NATO Supreme Allied Commander for Europe Bernhard Rogers, "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung", December 6, 1979)

WESTERN EUROPEAN DILEMMA: FEARS OF LOSING U.S. NUCLEAR UMBRELLA

Western European approval of the new missiles, which mainly serve the interests of the U.S. itself, proves that the identity of the interests of the ruling circles in Western Europe with those of the U.S. still prevails over their dissent. However, these interests are not all identical. Moreover, the West European position in itself shows increasing *contradictions:*

On the one hand West European monopoly capital fears that given the strategic nuclear balance between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. the U.S. would *no longer extend* its nuclear "protection" over Western Europe in any conflict there. Thus Soviet and socialist power and influence would increase.

"NATO is as much a nuclear-political as a military alliance. With U.S. nuclear superiority being lost, the thesis of Atlantic nuclear unity hardly can be upheld any longer. The potential of the strategic weapons at the disposal of the U.S. is just enough to deter the Soviets from an attack on the U.S. The comfortable, if macabre, calculation that we can live relatively safely under the shield of the U.S. strategic deterrent is no longer valid", observed strategic expert Weinstein in the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung", November 14, '79, the mouthpiece of West German big capital. Out of fear that the U.S. could once "decouple" its defence from that of Western Europe with the emergence of SALT-2, the *West German* government urged the U.S. for new guarantees of U.S. military protection and engagement in the form of the deployment of the new missiles. Likewise, the West German government as well as the British government exerted strong political and economic pressure on the smaller NATO countries to accept this.

FEARS OF NEW "COLD-WAR", LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR IN EUROPE

However, the West European ruling circles cannot afford a new cold war with the Soviet Union, both for political and economic reasons. Western Europe and especially West Germany are, on the national, European and international levels, very much exposed and vulnerable with regard to the consequences of any European or international crisis – much more so than the U.S. Economic and energy links between Western and Eastern Europe are steadily increasing. East-West trade reached a $ 60 billion level in 1978, whereby Western Europe, foremost West Germany, holds the lion's share, while Japan follows. The U.S. share is comparatively small.

Moreover, the West European public becomes slowly more aware of the danger that Western Europe could once become the nuclear graveyard of an aggressive and adventurous U.S. policy. Egon Bahr, a West German Social Democratic leader and the former architect of the Ostpolitik (East policy), in an interview with "Der Spiegel", October 10, '79, hinted at the "secret dream of the Americans and the Russians to let a nuclear war take place restricted if possible to Europe, while keeping the sacred territories of the superpowers intact."

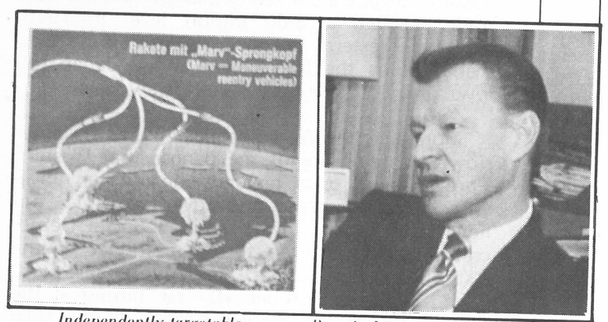
West Germany's neighbours, both in the East and in the West, fear the emergence of a U.S./West German nuclear potential, which could possibly fall into the hands of an openly aggressive West German government (the West German right-wing opposition leader Strauss has feverishly campaigned for the new missiles).

This basic contradiction in the Western European position results in an interest in defusing

the contradiction through *negotiations* on further arms control in the whole of Europe. This, again, contradicts the present aggressive tendency in U.S. policies.

The U.S., as mentioned above, tends to circumvent and undo the consequences of the inevitable SALT agreement, and thus to *upgrade* confrontation with the socialist countries in Europe. Western European ruling circles, however, while on the one hand fearing the loss of U.S. protection against socialist influence, on the other hand want to avoid a cold war in Europe and even want to expand cooperation with the East. They are interested in *extending SALT-2 to the European theater,* that is; to reduce both U.S. and Soviet military pressure which would allow maintaining working relations with the East, while further promoting West European international trade interests. This is why Western Europe in general is also actively interested in the ratification of SALT-2 in the U.S. (see "New York Times", October 10, '79).

It can be expected that the *linkage* in NATO's recent decision between the approval of the new U.S. missiles and the pledge for negotiations with the Warsaw Pact will lead in the not so distant future to further conflicts between the U.S. and its allies.



Independently targetable "Marv" warheads

Brzezinski threatening "nuclear warfare confined to the European area"

CAMP DAVID; U.S. GLOBAL AGGRESSIVE MOVES

The U.S.-led campaign for additional quasi-strategic nuclear missiles in Western Europe must be seen in the *global context* of comparable U.S. moves all over the world, especially in areas close in proximity to the Soviet Union, which here can be only hinted at:

— *In the Middle East*, the U.S. openly broke with the U.S.-Soviet joint communique of September, 1977 which committed both parties to seek a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East through the vehicle of a Geneva Conference in which all parties to the conflict would participate. Instead, the U.S. has pushed ahead with a separate U.S.-Israeli-Egyptian pact which is intended to serve as the basis for an aggressive U.S. comeback in the area. At present, the U.S. is vigorously scrambling to increase its direct military presence in the area as a prelude to plans for direct intervention. On December 18, '79, Pentagon officials confirmed reports that a U.S. Defence Department team had been sent to Saudi Arabia, Oman, Somalia and Kenya searching for arrangements for U.S. naval and air force bases in those countries, with Saudi Arabia being asked to provide financial assistance.

— At the same time, the U.S. tries to *expand NATO* responsibility and activities to cover the Middle East (see various NATO papers on the new U.S. missiles of December 13). The recent Middle East "peace plan" brought forward by the Republican candidate for presidency, John B. Conally, for instance suggests that "the United States should organise a new treaty alliance to cover the Middle East... and to protect regional oil fields and shipping lanes from Soviet or terrorist interference. The alliance should include *Israel,* the *moderate Arab states, NATO and Japan...*" ("Middle East Economic Digest", November 2, '79).

— In the *Indian Ocean,* the U.S. is upgrading its naval and aircraft carrier presence.

— U.S. Defence minister Brown is to visit *China* in January '80. "The Chinese hope the visit will result in some form of direct or indirect military assistance," ("New York Times", November 13, '79) This comes in the wake of Pentagon studies "leaked" to the press discussing the possibility of arming China.

— In summer '79 Carter announced plans for a *new mobile* MX intercontinental *missile system* in a 20-mile underground trench in the U.S.

— In autumn 1979 the U.S. government announced a new $10 billion *"quick strike"* force of 100,000 men to be used for intervention in such areas as the Middle East or the Indian Ocean.

— Addressing the U.S. Business Council, Carter announced on December 13, '79, a proposed five percent *increase* (in real terms over inflation rate) of the *military budget,* by $ 20 billion to a total of over $ 157 billion, for next year, with similar increases for the following four years, and a huge program for new arms and troop carriers.

U.S. Marines in California's Mojave Desert on military maneuvres designed to stimulate assault on Middle Eastern oil fields

— The U.S. will also be increasingly trying to link its regional potential with other regional potentials (NATO with Israel, Sadat etc.).

All these moves are being stepped up, while the U.S. is facing increasing chauvinist tendencies at home and mounting economic and political difficulties all over the world.

U.S. "WHISTLING IN THE DARK"

However, all these dangerous tendencies in present U.S. policies are unlikely to ever bear fruit:

— The hope that "Washington would reverse once again the thermonuclear balance in its favour" is "whistling in the dark", observed "International Herald Tribune" columnist Pfaff on October 20, '79. One must also doubt that the U.S. will be able to undo the effects of the nuclear stalemate by regaining regionally decisive military superiority. The only direct results will be the increase of global tension, dangerous regional conflicts, and a likewise dangerous further deterioration in U.S.-Soviet relations.

Europe, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states will react with *limited* military and political pressure. They will freeze for the time being special negotiations on the theater nuclear weapons, unless NATO softens its positions. However, the Soviet Union will not stop general negotiations and efforts for detente and cooperation, but will try to play off West European interests in such offers against the U.S.

It is also unlikely that the U.S. in a new arms race could decisively bring down the Soviet Union either economically or technologically.

— U.S. attempts to tighten its military grip over its West European allies and competitors will also create further strains within the Atlantic alliance, as it does in other parts of the world.

— The economic and security burden of a new dangerous nuclear escalation will meet growing internal reluctance both within the West European and the U.S. public. Thus the U.S. military counter-offensive will meet with globally growing problems, difficulties and resistance, from domestic opposition, from all forces fighting for national independence and liberation, from the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, and even from among the "allies" of the U.S. In fact, the U.S. military counter-offensive actually begs that all these forces cooperate to resolutely thwart it.

Attempts at school integration stir racist attacks on Blacks in Boston (U.S.A.).

BLACK AMERICANS AND THE PLO

On July 26, 1979, U.S. United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young met with the PLO's UN representative, Zuhdi Terzi. The disclosure of the meeting in the U.S. media a week later brought the question of U.S. recognition of the PLO before U.S. public attention as never before and it also brought international attention to the continuing subjugation of the Black community in American political and social life. Under State Department pressure, Andrew Young was forced to resign his post. The reverberations in the Black community are still simmering and bring into question minority support for Carter's re-election as president. To demonstrate the former UN Ambassador's ultimate tutelage to Carter Administration policies, Andrew Young's last official assignment was to lead a trade mission to 10 African countries to drum up business for U.S. multinational corporations. Young was also instructed to try and trigger a split in the international support for the PLO by urging African states to re-establish diplomatic relations with Israel which had been severed after the 1973 war.

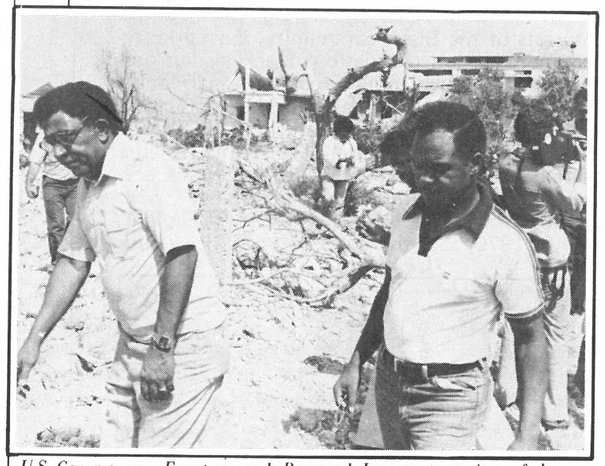
At the same time that Andrew Young was heading off for Africa, another U.S. representative to the United Nations, W. Beverly Carter (no relation to President Jimmy Carter), cast two anti-Israeli votes in the UN's human rights subcommission meeting in Geneva. W. Beverly Carter, like Young, is a Black American as well as a former U.S. Ambassador to Tanzania. He voted in favor of resolutions supporting Palestinian self-determination, recognizing the PLO and censuring Israel for bombing south Lebanon. With another Black U.S. diplomat breaking ranks so quickly after the Andrew Young affair, the Carter Administration moved swiftly to shore up its ties with Zionism. The State Department declared ex post facto, that W. Beverly Carter was not actually an official U.S. representative to the UN, but was serving in a personal voluntary capacity. Repudiation of W. Beverly Carter and Andrew Young's forced resignation signalled the end of even a symbolic political role for Blacks to play in the Carter Administration.

Although major Black organizations did not break with the Carter Administration over the Camp David framework for a Middle East "settlement" intended to invigorate U.S. hegemony in the area, Black civil rights organizations did break a previously ingrained policy precept designed by former National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger: not to have any dealings with the PLO. Two Black civil rights leaders responded to invitations by the PLO in September, 1979 and sent delegations to meet with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat. They were Rev. Jesse Jackson of People United to Save Humanity (PUSH) and Rev. Joseph Lowery, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Rev. Lowery's delegation also included the District of Columbia's representative to the U.S. Congress, Walter Fauntroy. Both delegations held amicable meetings with PLO Chairman Arafat and witnessed first-hand the devastation wrought over the past summer in south Lebanon by the Zionist use of U.S. supplied weaponry. Upon return to the U.S., both organizations continued to emphasize the necessity of U.S. contact with the PLO. The very fact of their meetings with PLO leaders, sparked a backlash from U.S. Zionist organizations long at odds with Black civil rights organizations over recent gains in affirmative action programs and such foreign policy issues as Israel's support for the apartheid regime in South Africa.

PRECARIOUS POSITION FOR BLACK "MIDDLE CLASS"

The political gains Blacks made in the civil rights era in the southern United States in the late 1950's and early 1960's, were not matched by economic gains by Black workers who migrated in large numbers after World War II to the ghetto inner cities of the Northeast, Midwest and West Coast. At the end of the 1960's, as the U.S. economy boomed with increased production in new industries like electornics, aerospace and the new military technology used to pursue U.S. imperialism's aggression in Southeast Asia, the economic conditions for inner city minorities declined. The result was an eruption of urban riots destroying large areas in the Black ghettos of Watts, Chicago and even the nation's capital — Washington, D.C. To quell the urban uprisings of the 1960's, the Johnson Administration launched what was supposed to be a "Great Society" for U.S. oppressed minorities. The "Great Society" was fueled by increased federal funding for welfare programs, minority affirmative action employment projects in government controled institutions and private industry, and urban "renewal" housing projects for the devastated inner cities.

U.S. capitalism sought to stem the Black and minority rebellion by artificially creating a small Black middle class and tried to buy off militants through injections of federal funds into civil rights projects and minority-owned businesses. But the "Great Society" came to a screeching hault in the early 1970's. A list of the Black-"owned" top 100 corporations published by *Black Enterprise* magazine for 1978, shows that all but 25 were established between the years 1969 and 1977. Almost all the "top 100" are in the service sector of the economy (i.e. car distributorships, food services or manufacture of Black specialty products). Those listed as being in the construction industry are often found to be front companies for larger white-controlled corporations. The "top 100" only employed 13,945 people out of a total Black population of some 20 million. The emergent Black middle class created as a result of Johnson's "Great Society" programs was small indeed. By the late 1970's with the increasing concentration of monopoly capital in the U.S., there was hardly room for the blossoming of an independent "Black capitalism".



U.S. Congressman Fauntroy and Reverend Lowery tour sites of damage caused by Israeli raids and U.S. weapons.

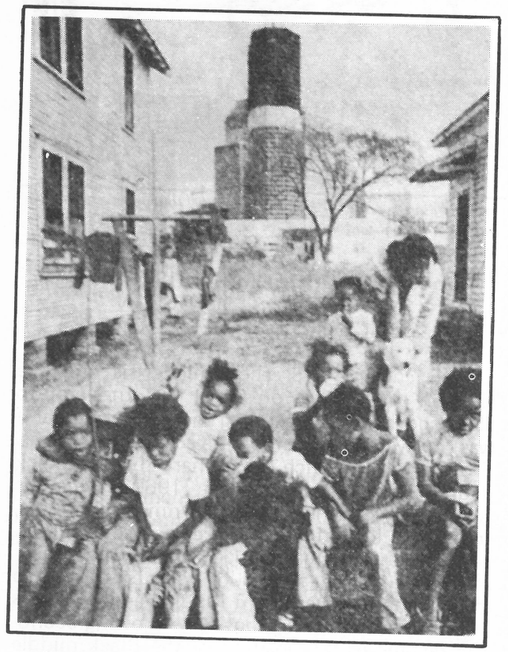
U.S. ECONOMIC CRISIS HEIGHTENS TENSIONS IN BLACK-ZIONIST RELATIONS

The current U.S. economic crisis and the election of Carter as president has put a stop to liberal government spending (however minimal it was) on welfare and affirmative action programs. The economic crunch has hit hard the new Black middle class created in the 1960's which is particularly dependent on government contracts, grants and loans for its very existence as a class. In this context, major Black civil rights organizations currently face budgetary crises due to the decline in government funding and decreases in charitable contributions. The growing economic decline in the position of the Black middle class, also edged closer a show-down with one of

BLACK AMERICANS AND THE PLO

its traditional allies – organized Zionism in the U.S. Zionist organizations have had a strained relationship with Black and minority civil rights organizations since the time when minority affirmative action began to affect important Jewish community economic mainstays: the professions and academic institutions. These contradictions were suddenly exacerbated by Andrew Young's meeting with PLO UN representative Terzi and the SCLC and PUSH meetings with PLO leaders in Beirut.

The new Black contacts with the PLO provided the pretext for some Zionist organizations to make an open break with Black civil rights organizations. It also caused Black organizations to re-evaluate their funding base and take new initiatives to influence U.S. foreign policy in the interests of the Black community. Even prior to Andrew Young's resignation, Black leaders had set up a foreign policy congressional lobby called "TransAfrica" under the chair of Richard G. Hatcher, the Mayor of Gary, Indiana. Within days of Young's resignation, TransAfrica issued a statement calling for a Palestinian state and charging Israel with "growing intimacy" with South Africa. The *New York Times* of September 6, 1979, saw the goals of TransAfrica suddenly transformed: "Although its main concern to date has been its efforts to isolate South Africa and retain United States sanctions against Rhodesia, some leaders say they now see it as a counter-force to the Israeli lobby."



On the unemployment line in Atlantic City/New Jersey

But for some well-established Black organizations, the PLO controversy raised the spector of deepening financial problems described in the same *New York Times* article: "In the past, even when blacks and Jews were at odds over affirmative action programs to increase employment and educational opportunities of minorities, a substantial part of the funds raised by such groups as the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) came from Jewish contributors."

The funding situation for Black civil rights organizations had become so serious by October that all prominent Black organizations grouped together in the Black Leadership Forum held an urgent meeting in Washington (SCLC, PUSH, the Urban Coalition, NAACP, the Congressional Black Caucus, National Council of Negro Women, TransAfrica, A. Philip Randolph Institute, NAACP Legal Defense Fund). Whether the organizations were in sympathy with the opening relations with the PLO or not, all of them publicly charged "that some Jews were now threatening to withhold financial and other support from their organizations." Some members of the Leadership Forum like Rev. Jesse Jackson claimed that they had even been receiving numerous assassination and bomb threats. Washington, D.C. Congressional Representative Walter Fauntroy faced a serious loss in financial aid for his next re-election campaign.

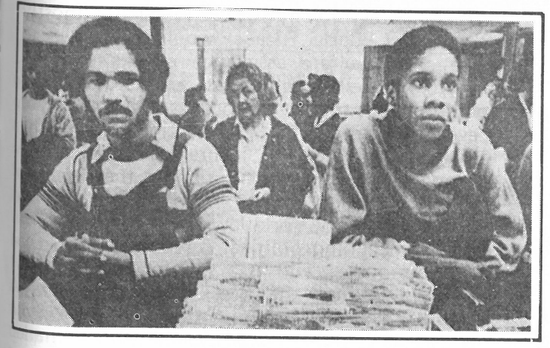
The Urban League and the NAACP are two organizations which have been particularly hurt by the current U.S. economic crisis and the question of opening relations with the PLO. Both the Urban League and the NAACP have had "traditionally close ties to Jews, the Democratic Party and the labor movement" and "might have been influenced by allies to take a strong pro-Israel stand." *(New York Times,* October 15, 1979.) The Urban League has an annual budget of $6 million which is largely dependent on dwindling corporation, foundation, government grants – and contributions from Zionist organizations. The NAACP is the largest Black civil rights organization in the U.S. with some 500,000 members and 1,700 local chapters. It has Zionist members on its board of directors and had a leading Jewish industrialist, Kivie Kaplan, as its national president from 1966 until he died in 1975. The NAACP also runs a human relations institute jointly with the Union of Hebrew Congregations "with a grant from the Kaplan Family Charity Trust." The political positions taken by these organizations on talks with the PLO reflect the contradictions they face in their funding sources.

Over the objections of its president, Benjamin Hook, the board of directors of the NAACP passed a resolution addressing the Andrew Young resignation which called on the U.S. government "never to relent in its commitment to the permanent existence of Israel with secure and safe borders." The resolution was "balanced" by a statement calling for "a homeland for the Palestinian people that recognizes their fundamental moral, legal and legitimate rights to a just existence." Vernon Jordan, president of the Urban League attacked Black leaders such as Jesse Jackson and Rev. Lowery for meeting with the PLO claiming that their meetings were "sideshows that endangered Black-Jewish relations" and detracted from "vital survival issues."

U.S. Zionists and the Israeli Histradrut had little trouble in hurredly organizing a Black propaganda tour to Israel to counter the Lowery and Jackson meetings with the PLO. The Histradrut financed a Black delegation to visit Israel to immediately coincide with the end of Jesse Jackson's tour of the Middle East. The pro-Zionist Black delegation included William S. Pollard, director of the civil rights department of the AFL-CIO and Bayard Rustin of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, Rustin is also associated with the think-tank of the U.S. extreme political right, the American Enterprise Institute. He is also a member of the President's "Commission on the Holocaust."

RAPIDLY DETERIORATING SITUATION FOR U.S. OPPRESSED MINORITIES

Minority organizations based in the most depressed communities in the U.S. central cities and the majority of the racially and economically oppressed in the U.S. hold a natural affinity for the liberation movements in the Third World, including support for the PLO. This affinity is growing with the deepening impoverishment of oppressed minorities in the United States and the renewed strength of racist attacks against them which are attendant to the worsening of the economic crisis.



Houston/Texas slum: a very bad city to be poor in

The U.S. ruling class is presently advising U.S. minorities not to expect any gains in their political or economic position in the coming future. A columnist in the *New York Times* of September 12, 1979 advises Black people in the U.S. "during these seemingly bleak days of limited expectations and diminished social program returns", not to harbor any hopes for present gains to come through the present political process, "while looking to the future as a time of greater potential for achieving their aims." In the economic sphere, the *Wall Street Journal* in May, warned Blacks who are threatened with an ever-increasing unemployment rate, not to push Congress for a strengthening of the U.S. minimum wage laws: "What disadvantaged black people need is not a savior and not leaders; they need the opportunity to compete in the market."

When Jesse Jackson and Rev. Joseph Lowery met with PLO leaders in Beirut, they both touched upon a basic fact that is well-known by any minority in the U.S. – when the economic crunch hits as in the so-called "energy crisis", Blacks and other minorities are the first to suffer. And this fact has never been more true than in the present U.S. economic crisis.

Unemployment figures for Black and Spanish-speaking workers in the U.S. have been double those for whites for the past 20 years – as long as statistics on the racial composition of the workforce have been kept. The minority unemployment rate is growing in the present period and although official rates are appallingly high, they disguise the staggering depth of minority unemployment as they neglect to account for the number of people who are so discouraged that they have completely given up looking for work. As of 1975, at the beginning of the current recession in the U.S., 31.3% of all Blacks lived *below* the U.S. official poverty level. In the same year, the rate for persons of Spanish origin was 25.9%. These figures do not include those living at the poverty level, those partially or under-employed. For people of Spanish origin, these figures do not include the 6 to 10 million undocumented workers in the U.S. who have migrated from Mexico and Latin America and work for wages below the U.S. official minimum wage standards. The migration of workers from Mexico increases each year as the Mexican unemployment rate just for the male part of the workforce is over 50%.

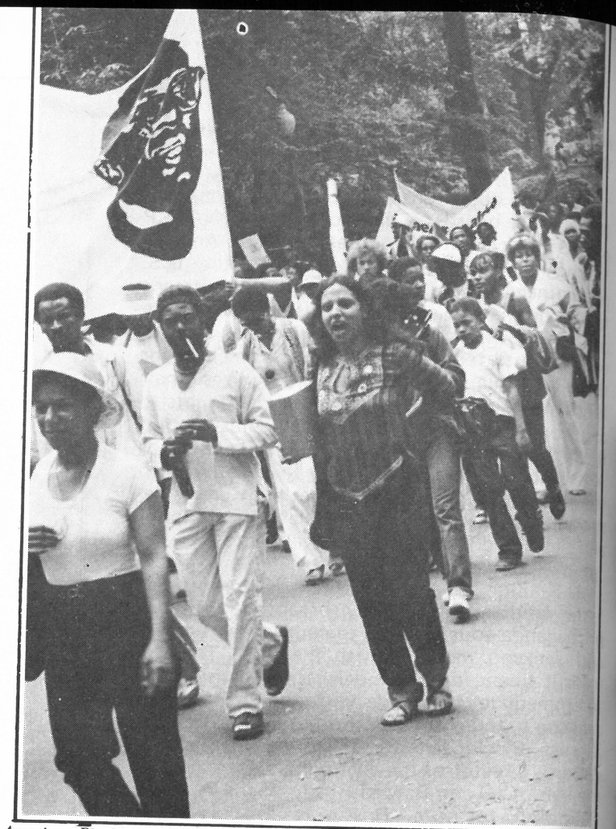
The Carter Administration was elected with the crucial component of a huge percentage of the minority vote. Minority voters responded to

"PALESTINE" ANALYSIS

Carter's promises to expand public welfare, education and medical programs for the poor. After Carter's election the opposite in fact occurred — tight welfare spending. The future prognostications of Carter's domestic economic policy were laid out before Congress on October 17 by Paul A. Volcker, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board: "Americans must accept a *reduction* in their living standards, if inflation is to be reduced... If there is no really important rise in imported oil prices through this year, it's possible the general level of inflation might lapse back to the kind of home-bred inflation we've had in the past." The price of imported oil in fact is spiraling. U.S. multinational oil monopolies use the rises in the price of imported oil to gouge out larger profits from domestic consumers. (E.g., third quarter increases in profits for the major oil monopolies covering the 1979 summer "oil shortage" in the U.S. were: Texaco 211%, Sohio 191%, Mobil 131%, Exxon 118%, Gulf 97%, Amoco 49%.)

Minorities and the poor are the first affected by inflation which causes skyrocketing prices for basic necessities. More of their numbers sink *below* the poverty level. In the Northeast ghettos most low income housing is heated by oil. Minority and poor families will pay $1 billion more for heating oil in 1980 than they did in 1979. With the cost of heating oil doubling in just one year, poor families are expected to pay over 50% of their income in the winter months just to keep warm. The Carter Administration has proposed to Congress a federal subsidy program to help pay heating bills for low income families, but at an amount which would only cover 1/4 of actual need. But the Carter Administration has found room in the next fiscal year's budget to increase military spending by $20 billion including a first installment of $2 billion for a build-up of a "rapid deployment force" which has only been reported to have a possible use in the Middle East or Gulf region. The proposed increase in military spending came prior to the hostage seizure in Iran which has now been used by Carter to deflect domestic attention away from the economic crisis and whip up support for a renewed U.S. military chauvinism.

Carter Administration cuts in social spending have deeply added to the degradation of life for minorities living in the inner city ghettos. In New York, for example, the city school system faces cuts in federal spending and this year had a $35 million budget deficit. The city's high schools had a 53% dropout rate over the past several years. The public school system is supposed to educate about 1 million children of whom 71% are Black or Hispanic. A Puerto Rican member of the school system's governing board stated in October that "65% of the city's Puerto Rican students and 55% of the Black

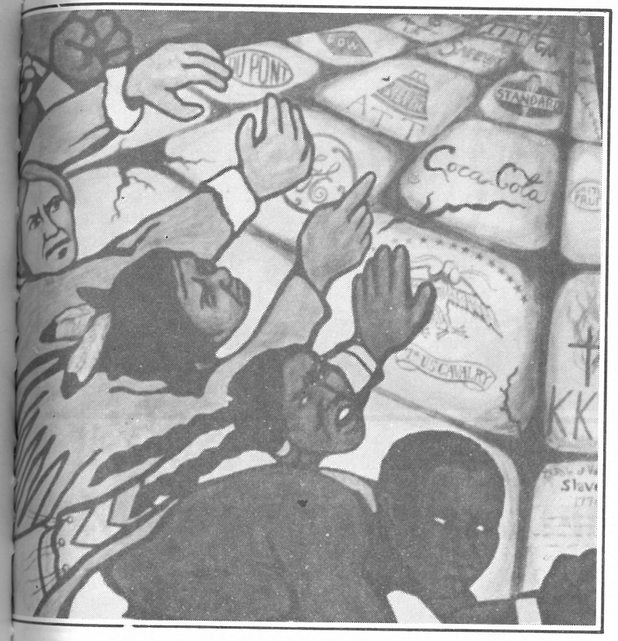


American Blacks march in solidarity with Palestine on "African Liberation Day" in Washington D.C., May 1979.

students drop out before the 12th grade." The lack of educational funding for the central cities adds in molding a minority population which is forced into chronic unemployment and relegated to a position of permanent alienation from society. Youth minority unemployment was officially stated at 40.2% at the beginning of the economic recession, and now unofficial estimates are that it is as high as 60% in the inner city ghettos.

To solve the housing crisis for the poor in New York city, the city administration this year requested that the federal government initiate a test program whereby welfare recipients (mostly Blacks and Puerto Ricans) would be forced to have their welfare assistance checks countersigned by their landlords to ensure that they would collect their rental profits. Deputy Mayor Leventhal stated that the rationale for the program would be to "insure a flow of rental income to landlords with buildings that house a large number of welfare recipients." It is no wonder that New York Jewish Mayor Koch has suffered declining political fortunes among the city's minorities, and as a staunch Zionist, has been drawn into the Black-PLO controversy. Mayor Koch's own opinion of the city's Black population can be gleamed from a tape he made for an oral history project at Columbia University in 1975-76: "My experience with Blacks is that they are basically anti-semitic."

Besides the economic war on minorities, there is a rise in direct violent attacks on them both by local police agencies and racist gangs. In October, white youth gangs in Boston rampaged through Black neighborhoods beating up Blacks and smashing store windows in the aftermath of the city's attempt at school desegregation. One Black high school student was shot and paralyzed while attending one of the schools being desegregated.

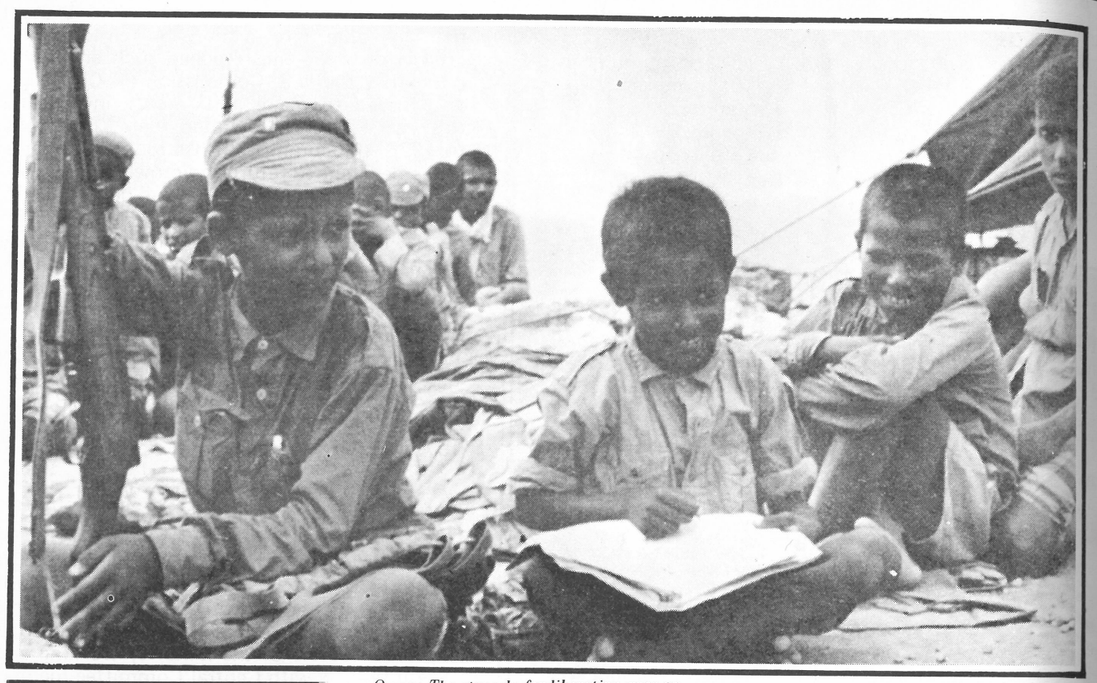


Houston, Texas is the fifth largest city in the U.S. and headquarters for the major multinational oil companies. Out of a population of 2 million, some estimate that Houston has an uncounted population of 750,000 "illegal" Mexican immigrants. Houston is a boom town for the oil monopolies, but not for the Black and Hispanic minorities who make up 40-45% of the city's population. The *New York Times* of November 1, described the living conditions for Houston's minorities: "The blacks and Mexican-Americans... live among the scrap yards and wharehouses and factories and hole-in-the-wall taverns and derelict houses on the east side of town."

In the past several years, the Houston office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) received more complaints of police brutality than any other city in the U.S. The local police attacks on minorities reached such an extreme pitch that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was forced to make a six-month investigation this year. The results stated that: "From 1966 to 1978, the commission has found, local grand juries declined to return indictments of Houston police officers involved in the deaths of 155 citizens, most of them black and Hispanic." This death figure included the highly publicized death in 1976 of Jose Campos Torres, "who drowned after arresting officers ordered him to jump from a 12-foot embankment into a downtown bayou." The same problem has arisen in Los Angles where this year the American Civil Liberties Union released the results of an investigation showing that local police shot 278 people (mostly minorities), killing 123 of them from 1975 to 1978.

NATURAL AFFINITY WITH LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

It is no mistake that the strongest support for the PLO in the U.S. has come from minority organizations representing the most oppressed sectors of the inner city poor and the super-exploited sectors of the minority working class. (See interview with Central Committee members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party on pg. 90.) When leaders of the Progressive National Baptist Convention met in Harlem (perhaps the bleakest ghetto in the U.S.) on October 14, the pastor of Harlem's New Canaan Baptist Church denounced Black leaders who criticized contacts with the PLO, saying that such criticism would bring the end to the claim of any such person to be a civil rights leader. When the president of the Urban League criticized Black leaders for meeting with the PLO, community groups from Harlem occupied the executive offices of the league in New York City. (The groups included the Harlem division of the Congress of Racial Equality; the United Black Crisis Task Force, a South Bronx community organization for young people, and the Public Utility Review Board, a Harlem-based consumer group.) Once exposed to the issues facing the Palestinian Revolution, oppressed minorities in the U.S. do not find difficulty in drawing the parallels to their own domestic situation. The enemies of both peoples are in fact the same: for the oppressed minorities in the U.S. the enemy is the grip of U.S. monopoly capital on their lives and its political embodiment in a repressive racist state apparatus; for the Palestinians the enemy is the U.S. grip on the Middle East region in the form of imperialism supporting a racist Zionist entity as a regional watchdog.



Oman: The struggle for liberation goes on.

IRAN:

OMAN:

PALESTINE:

UNIFIED STRUGGLE AGAINST ZIONISM AND IMPERIALISM

At the invitation of the Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fateh), a delegation from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO), headed by Comrade Abdel Aziz al-Qadi, Chairman of the PFLO Executive Committee, visited Fateh in mid-December 1979. Chairman Yasser Arafat received Comrade Abdel Aziz and his accompanying delegation and they discussed the Arab and international situation.

The delegation held official talks with a Fateh delegation headed by Abu Iyyad, member of the Fateh Central Committee, in which the two parties discussed Arab and international developments and bilateral relations. There was broad agreement on all issues discussed.

The delegation visited the Fateh institutions, after which the guest delegation expressed their admiration. The delegation also visited South Lebanon and a number of Joint Forces' bases, and met with cadres and fighters of the Joint Forces. They expressed their deep appreciation of the steadfastness of the militants in South Lebanon in the face of the Zionist-isolationist forces.

The two parties issued the following joint communique at the end of the visit:

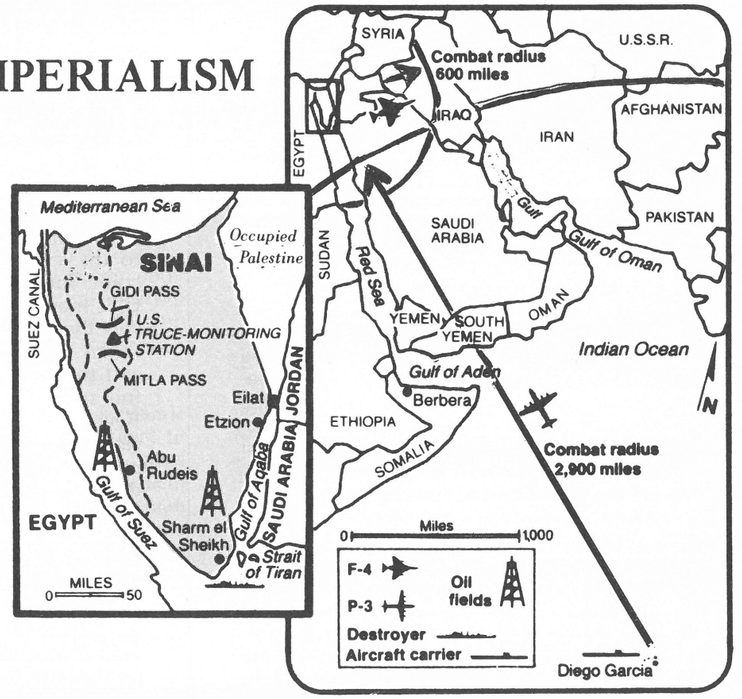
1. The two parties affirm that the main enemy of the Arab masses is international imperialism, headed by the U.S.A., world Zionism, with its racist and colonial entity in occupied Palestine, and Arab reaction, of which Qabus and Sadat represent the most extreme and dangerous parties in the context of the Arab cause. Qabus has turned Oman into a country which is practically under occupation. Oman is a vital base for American and British forces in the Gulf area, and a base for foreign conspiracies in this sensitive region of our Arab homeland. In this, they are backed by their reactionary allies in the Arab region, particularly the Sadat regime, which sent the advance guard of his military forces to join with foreign forces in the oppression of the Omani masses and in threatening the neighboring Arab countries and the Arab people in the region, especially the progressive regime in the Popular Democratic Republic of Yemen.

2. The two parties affirm that the Palestine cause is the first and central Arab cause, and that it represents the core of the conflict between the Arab Nation on one side and international imperialism and Zionism and its base Israel, on the other and that the causes of the Arab Liberation Movement are an indivisible whole. The parties affirm that the battle against the Israeli entity cannot be separated from the battle against imperialism, headed by the U.S.A., and against their bases and interests in the Arab region.

3. On the basis of the two parties' belief that nationalist, democratic and progressive forces stand historically in one trench and face one enemy and one destiny, they stress, especially in this critical phase, the need to consolidate and develop the different forms of collaboration, coordination and joint work among the different factions of the Arab Liberation Movement in the face of imperialism, Zionism and reaction. These are becoming more and more aggressive, especially since the signing of the Camp David accords and its results, removing Egypt from the Arab front and turning it into a regime fighting on the side of imperialism and Zionism; and the moving of more foreign forces and bases into Oman.

4. The two parties affirm the necessity of using the oil weapon in the Arab Nation's battle, and the necessity of freeing these vital resources from their domination and indiscriminate plunder by the imperialist oil monopolies, and of using them for the welfare of the people of the region, and for the benefit of all humanity.

5. The two parties reiterate their denunciation of the Camp David accords and their repercussions, which were concluded with the planning, sponsorship and encouragement of the U.S.A., the spearhead of international imperialism and the primary enemy of the peoples of the world. The two parties consider that these accords have brought about a new alliance on all levels between the Zionist entity, the Sadat



regime and the U.S.A. and are hostile not only to the Palestinian Revolution but to the Arab Liberation Movement, and to the progressive and liberation movements the world over.

6. The two parties denounce the "self-rule" scheme, and affirm that it is an imperialist, Zionist, reactionary attempt to consolidate and perpetuate the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories. They stress the necessity to struggle firmly to foil the Camp David accords and the self-rule scheme. The two parties praise the Palestinian Arab masses' struggle in the occupied territories and the unified stand of the Palestinian Arab masses and municipalities against the occupation authorities. It is a militant inspiration to the whole Arab Liberation Movement, since it proves that continuous steadfastness and struggle and national unity are invincible weapons. The resistance and stand of the Palestinian masses in the occupied territories constitute a major factor that should be protected, conserved and developed in the struggle to foil the Camp David accords, the "self-rule" scheme and all attempts to strike at the steadfastness of the Palestinian Revolution and Arab Liberation Movement.

7. The Omani delegation expresses its appreciation of the militant achievements of the PLO and its leading faction, Fateh, on the Palestinian, Arab and international levels.

The two parties stress the extreme importance and necessity of the struggle for the consolidation of the Palestinian resistance movement and the unity of all its factions within the framework of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and on the basis of the political and procedural programs of the organisation, for the realisation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including their right to return to their homeland, exercise self-determination and establish their independent national state.

8. The Fateh delegation affirms its admiration for the past and present struggles of the PFLO, and its support for these struggles to achieve the aims of the revolution, the main three aims of which have been specified by the Front to be the expulsion of foreign forces and bases from Oman, the establishment of democratic freedoms, and adherence to a non-aligned sovereign policy supporting the Arab cause and especially the Palestine cause.

9. Since Oman and the Arab Gulf region is the second arena after Palestine and the surrounding area, in facing imperialism, Zionism, and reaction, the two parties affirm the importance of developing their relations on all levels in order to achieve their joint aims of liberation, democracy and progress. The two parties also affirm that the condition for achieving these aims, especially under occupation and quasi-occupation, is armed struggle based on the potentials of the masses, and supported by wide-scale revolutionary and political struggle, starting from the strong alliance with the Arab and international democratic and progressive forces.

10. The two parties attach great value to the progressive role of the Lebanese National Movement, its steadfastness and principled and permanent unity with the Palestinian Revolution to defend the existence of this Revolution in Lebanon, and to defend the unity and Arabism of Lebanon against U.S.-Zionist-imperialist plans, and stress the importance of developing the union and joint struggle of the Palestinian Revolution and the LNM to foil all attempts to strike at Lebanon and the Palestinian Revolution.

11. The two sides praise the victory of the Iranian Revolution and the destruction of the strongest pillar of imperialist interests in the region, and the protector of the Qabus regime. This changed the balance of forces in the region to the advantage of the peoples and the democratic forces. The two sides condemn the latest U.S. moves in the Arab Gulf, the Arabian Sea and the Gulf of Oman, and describe them as a threat to the security and peace of the region and to world peace. The two sides declare their full solidarity with the Iranian people and their Revolution in the face of U.S. threats of intervention, and demand further Arab official and popular solidarity with the Iranian people and their just demands.

12. The two sides confirm the importance of developing solidarity relations between the Arab Liberation Movement and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They praise the role of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in supporting the causes of the Arab Revolution, particularly the Palestine cause.

Iranians who were injured in the revolution or crippled by torture at the hands of SAVAK take part in a demonstration against the Western press in Teheran on December 16, 1979.

WESTERN MEDIA DISTORTS IRAN REVOLUTION

In his annual address (see page 3 of the current issue), Chairman Arafat has underlined the strategic importance of the Iranian revolution and its brotherly links with the Palestinian resistance struggle. The following comment on recent events in Iran is taken from "Laleh", the monthly publication of "Foreigners In Solidarity With The Iranian People", December 1979.

The achievements and goals of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, although quite beneficial to the Iranian masses and the Third World, have been quite disastrous for Western imperialism and Zionism. The profits derived from Iranian oil are no longer reaped by Western oil companies. The price of oil has risen to a level more appropriate to its value and has taken into consideration world inflation.

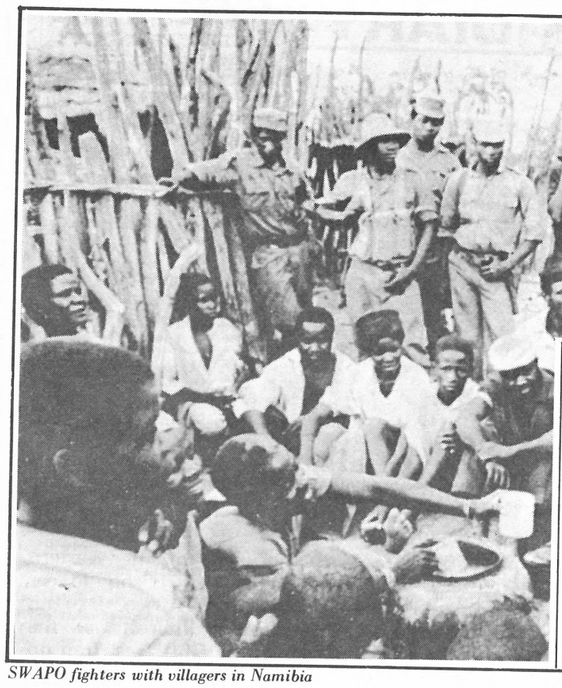
The military budget in Iran has been slashed by 60%, upsetting the plans of the Western military complex. Iranian oil is no longer supplied to Israel and South Africa. Iran no longer protects superpower interests at the expense of the masses in the Gulf area. Iran no longer supports Israel in helping to cause division among Arab countries.

Noting the interrelationship and dependence of the Western media on imperialist policies and taking into consideration the fact that in order to increase the price of gas in the U.S., the oil companies through the media used the revolution in Iran as a scapegoat, it is absolutely clear why the media has vehemently misrepresented and slandered the Islamic Revolution in Iran and its leadership.

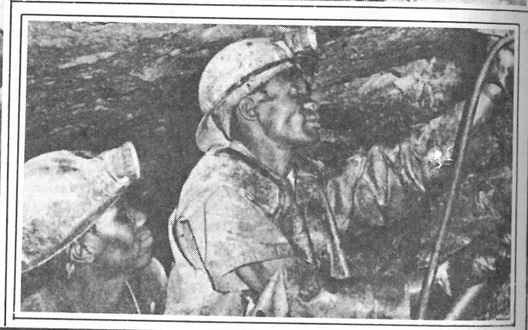
As the Islamic revolution moves to rid Iran of cultural imperialism, as it strives to develop and educate an independent and militant youth, it is clear that it is clashing headlong with the imperialist value system. The whole imperialist propaganda machine is against this revolution.

SOUTHERN AFRICA:

ON THE ROAD TO LIBERATION



SWAPO fighters with villagers in Namibia



Exploited South African (Azanian) miners

The progress of the revolutionary forces in southern Africa depends on the ability of the liberation organizations to mobilize the mass of the oppressed people in support of their armed struggle, and on unity between the liberation forces and the front-line states backed by the anti-imperialist forces of the whole world. The liberation of southern Africa is an integral part of the worldwide struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism, including their Zionist form.

Any attempt by imperialists to pose as friends of African liberation is a fraud, especially attempts by the U.S. Britain and West Germany, which between them control the major portion of foreign investment in, and trade with, the racist states of southern Africa. If those powers wanted to, they could have brought down the racist system within days because it does not exist outside the system of imperialism.

The West fears that racist intransigence will stimulate the forces of social revolution, consolidate the alliance between the liberation forces and their natural allies, and result in the total expulsion of capitalism and imperialism from the African continent. The magnificent armed revolutionary victories in Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique fundamentally altered the balance of forces in southern Africa in favor of the revolutionary movements. Armed liberation movements in Azania (South Africa), Zimbabwe and Namibia, though at varying stages of liberation struggle, have raised high the banner of freedom, peace and social justice.

NAMIBIA (SOUTH WEST AFRICA)

In Namibia the five imperialist powers with vested interests in the perpetuation of South Africa's illegal occupation (in particular Britain, the United States and West Germany) have for a long time been posturing as the sole peace brokers. In fact the Western Five, far from taking the opportunity to force South Africa to submit to relevant Security Council resolutions, which call for no more than free and fair elections supervised by the UN, are instead exerting every effort to protect South Africa.

The UN General Assembly has been debating the Namibian problem since 1946. The Western powers, in particular the USA, have consistently vetoed resolutions calling for Namibian independence. In 1967 the UN General Assembly resolved that the UN is the sole legitimate body authorized to administer Namibia until it becomes independent, and called for the immediate withdrawal of South African occupation forces. All these peace moves were to no avail because the South African regime, backed militarily and economically by imperialist powers, would not yield.

Naturally, in the face of South African intransigence and imperialist compliance, the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO have resisted occupation. SWAPO fighters have been striking deep into Namibia, destroying South African military and other occupation targets. The reality of SWAPO's acceptance as the voice of the Namibian people has resulted in its recognition by the UN and the OAU as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

On November 28, 1979 the UN Security Council called on South Africa to say whether or not it is prepared at long last to accept the idea, approved by SWAPO and the front line states, of creating a demilitarized zone along Namibia's northern border to facilitate preparations for a transitional period and free elections.

The South African response was to attack Angola using Western-supplied planes and bombs. South African troops from bases in Namibia, also landed at Porto Alexandre and at the outskirts of Mocamedes, Angola's principal port, randomly destroying economic installations. The intention was to force Angola to submit to racist designs. Nevertheless Angola has reaffirmed its unwavering support for the Namibian people's armed struggle.

AZANIA (SOUTH AFRICA)

In South Africa, the heartland of racism, the African National Congress (ANC) and its military wing Umkloto We-Sizwe, have in the last year successfully accomplished a large number of armed actions, while their underground structures are growing stronger daily and the political climate is characterized by a high degree of political consciousness.

In Soweto, the bastion of African resistance, ANC freedom fighters have been harassing occupation installations. On November 2, the police station in Orlando district was attacked with hand grenades and automatic gunfire, and several troops of the apartheid regime are known to have been killed.

In the face of mounting opposition, the South African apartheid regime has resorted to a policy of "the carrot and the stick." Wielding the stick, the apartheid regime has resorted to mass arrests and intimidation to quell popular revolt. Well over 3,000 suspected "sympathizers" are known to have been arrested. On 10 October 12 Azanians charged with being members of the ANC were sentenced to death or long-term imprisonment. The British *Guardian* newspaper of 16 November 1979 reported that at the beginning of their trial, "the accused held up three placards against the glass of the specially constructed dock. The placards read: 'Apartheid is a crime against humanity,' 'Apartheid is high treason,' and 'Never on our knees.' "

As for the carrot, the rascist regime is passing legislation which it claims is intended to improve "race relations." Blacks are being allowed to sit on the same benches as whites; another measure is the proclamation of November 2 which said: "White and black businessmen can form partnerships where blacks can hold a 51% interest in such companies." In the words of Mr. Koornoholf, the Minister in charge of race relations, "a black-white partnership would be formed for the construction of a large commercial center in the black township of Soweto." This was, as he pointed out, a "part of the government's strategy to draw blacks into free enterprise, uniting them with whites against Marxism." *("International Herald Tribune",* 3 November 1979) What Koornohof understands by "Marxism" is the African people's demand for social, economic and political equality and the abolition of the white supremacist ideology. Koornoholf's plan is similar to the failed strategy drawn up by Portuguese imperialists when they ruled Mozambique and Angola.

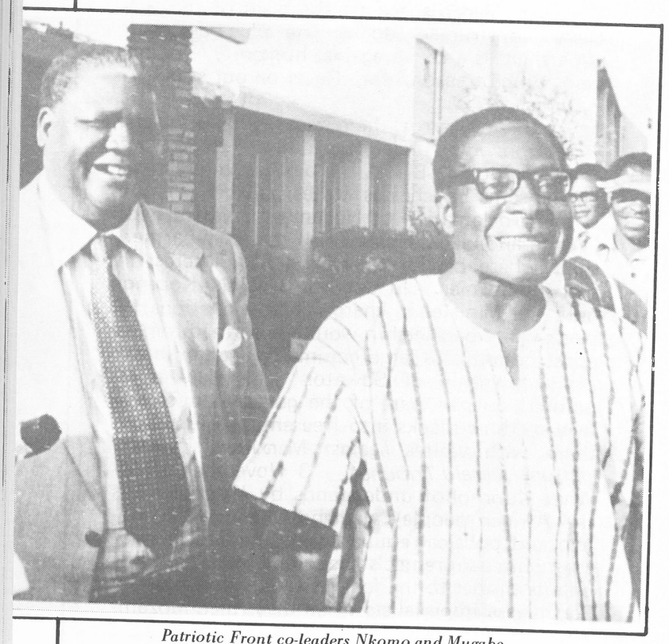
THE CONGO 1960 TRAGEDY

"A LESSON FOR ZIMBABWE"

(Taken from "Zimbabwe News", the official organ of the Zimbabwe African National Union, Vol. 11 No 2 July-August, 1979.)

"The British colony of Southern Rhodesia is now facing imminent military defeat at the hands of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army, ZANLA, led by ZANU. The British imperialists are on their part employing every trick in the book in a hopeless attempt to maintain their oppressive and exploitative rule over the people of Zimbabwe. The colonial state machinery is an indispensable weapon for this purpose. They are now fighting tooth and nail to preserve the settler fascist army, police and civil service. The history of colonialism contains records of such manoeuvres by imperialist powers to perpetuate the subjugation of the people through the retention of their apparatus of repression.

Patriotic Front demonstrators during London Conference



Patriotic Front co-leaders Nkomo and Mugabe

"For the Zimbabwe fighting masses it is necessary that the events of the tragedy of the Congo in 1960 be recounted in order to help them keep vigilant against imperialist tricks and expose the ignoble role of the puppets in trying to deprive them of their independence.

THE PURPOSE OF ELECTIONS

"When the Belgians agreed to grant the Congo independence in 1960, they had realised that they could no longer contain the people's forceful march to independence. Accordingly, they devised the idea of elections which they themselves would supervise. But most important of all is that the Belgians groomed puppets ranging from tribal stooges to wealth seekers. They were confident that they would influence the course of the elections and ensure the success of their puppets. The people of Congo were represented by the Congolese National Movement led by the late Patrice Lumumba. But there was also a host of puppet groups financed and promoted by the Belgians and their United States and British co-imperialists.

"When the results of the elections showed the overwhelming victory of the Popular Party led by Patrice Lumumba, the imperialists realised that they had miscalculated. Lumumba had clearly spelt out his Party's programme, a path that would ensure the complete political and economic independence of the Congo for the benefit of the country's people. That was a threat to imperialist monopoly interests and all mining rights owned by British, United States and Belgian companies. The Congo, being rich in minerals, was too important to be lost by capitalist exploiters.

"In pursuance of their goal, the imperialists started using their puppets, who had been rejected by the people. They tried to prevent Lumumba from forming a government using obstructionist parliamentary tactics.

"But Lumumba and the people lacked one crucial thing. They were not in control of the chief apparatus of the state machinery. Imperialism realised that Lumumba was a formidable force, especially with the whole people behind him. With the puppets defeated in the parliamentary game, imperialism turned to its last option. They brought in the army led by Joseph Mobutu. Mobutu announced just a day after Lumumba's victory in parliament that the army had seized power. He claimed that he was saving the country from civil strife.

SMITH MERCENARY ARMY MUST BE DISBANDED

"The tragedy of the Congo is a lesson that should not be ignored. The struggle that was, and still is in the Congo, is similar to the struggle in Zimbabwe. Either people submit to the imperialist plundering of their country's natural resources by acquiescing to the rule of puppets or they dare to struggle to the bitter end to achieve true independence. The memories of the Congo are not far off. Mobutu is still around. The imperialists are busy trying to build up a "stable Mobutu" in Zimbabwe.

"People of Zimbabwe realize that it is only by smashing the Smith-Walls facist army and replacing it by their ZANLA forces that genuine independence in Zimbabwe can be achieved. In this they have the living example of Mozambique where the people's Army took over from the colonial Portuguese Army after the latter had conceded defeat. They are not going to compromise on that. The Smith-Walls racist puppet and mercenary army must be disbanded."

JOSHUA NKOMO TO "PALESTINE"

PF STRIVES FOR SOCIETY OF EQUALITY

The Zimbabwe Patriotic Front's Co-President Joshua Nkomo recently in London granted an interview to *Palestine* where he has been negotiating on the independence of his country with representatives of the British government and the Muzorewa-Smith regime.

"We told the British: We haven't come to London to surrender. We haven't come to London to give back what we have won by blood and sweat. We have come here to negotiate with the British and the regime for a settlement that will bring about peace and justice in our country."

The Patriotic Front, Comrade Nkomo said, is striving to build "a society where nobody exploits the other, where the masses themselves are in control." Asked about the position of white settlers in this society, he replied: "We do not talk about people as white. We talk about people as people. The white people who have chosen to stay in Zimbabwe, to make the country their home, are as much Zimbabwean as the black ones. So the colour of skin in our country is immaterial. It is because we have lived in a country where colour of people has been taken as a mark of superiority, that I hope this doesn't count with us."

"PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE IS OUR STRUGGLE"

"The Palestinian people's struggle is our struggle, and our struggle is their struggle," comrade Nkomo declared, and this is the case with "any revolutionary struggle against racism and fascism." He noted that the Palestinian fight for liberation is an exceptionally arduous one, but stressed the need for the Palestinian Resistance to stand firm and persevere its independence of action, particularly in this important phase.

Asked about co-ordination between the African and Arab peoples in their common struggle against racism, he said that there are contacts between them in various revolutionary forums, and expressed the hope that even closer contacts would be developed in future.

PUERTO RICO:

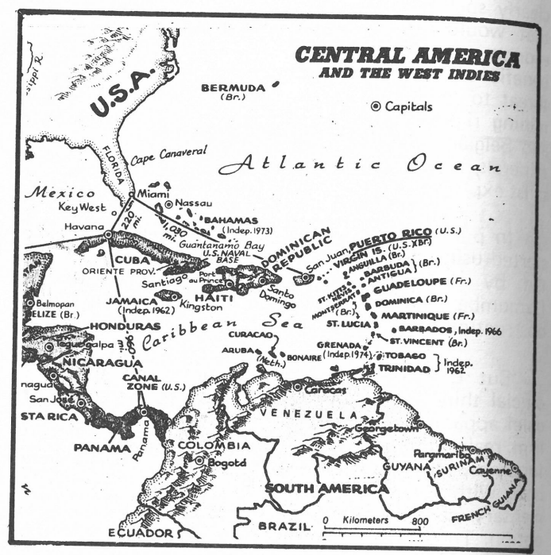
A VICTIM OF U.S. COLONIALISM AND RACISM

During their recent visit to the PLO in early November 1979, a delegation of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, led by Deputy Secretary General comrade Lucia Antonia Romero, explained to *Palestine* the situation of the Puerto Rican people which is subjected to all forms of military domination, economic exploitation and racist discrimination at the hands of the U.S., the self-appointed world patron of "human rights".

Q: What is the current political situation in Puerto Rico?

A: "The principal problem that we face at this time is the struggle against the U.S. Navy, especially on the island and municipality of Vieques. This is an island off the coast of Puerto Rico which has been occupied almost totally by the U.S. Navy and they have driven away more than half its population. Before the U.S. Navy presence the island had about 16,000 people. They are reduced now to 7,000. They once had four sugar mills. Now there are none. They had a thriving fishing industry. Now the fishermen have to struggle with the U.S. Navy's ships and planes so as to eek out their living.

This struggle may have a great upsurge in the coming months because of President Carter's announcement of the military measures in the Caribbean and the interests developing against Cuba. Also because the American Navy has its principal base for the whole of Latin America outside the continental United States in Puerto Rico. It is concrete evidence of the way that U.S. imperialism uses Puerto Rico in its plans of aggression against all progressive and freedom-loving peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, especially in Grenada, Cuba and Nicaragua. This is one of the faces of the annexationist strategy of the United States in which they have been always relying on the most reactionary sectors in Puerto Rico. They have always advocated the annexation of Puerto Rico to the U.S. They people of Vieques have planned to escalate in every way they can their fight against the U.S. Navy presence and not to rest until the U.S. Navy has been driven out of Vieques. This is one of the main aspects of our fight for national liberation in the coming months and years.



The political outgrowth of this process is the expected celebration of a "plebiscite" which will be sponsored by the U.S. government and the colonial puppet party in power which is called the New Progressive Party. This "plebiscite" will be held in 1981. It will serve imperialism in two ways. Before this "plebiscite" they plan a widespread campaign of repression against all the independistas, progressives and freedom fighters.

By showing the number of votes in this "plebiscite," they will try to counter national and international opinion criticizing U.S. colonialism. Of course, this "plebiscite" is controlled by the Americans through a process of military and police repression and using all the apparatus and mass media to confuse and stamp out opposition.

We will use the UN as a forum, the De-Colonization Committee of the UN and all other international bodies and bilateral relations to denounce this process. The De-Colonization Committee has established that the U.S. doesn't have the right to intervene in any way politically, economically or militarily to block the right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination, national independence and economic security. We will also use these forums to condemn this false plebiscite, noting, of course, that plebiscites are very suspect in international law. They have been condemned because they have been the legal tool of colonialist forces to try to uphold their colonial possessions in oppressed countries. The best example is the French plebiscite in Algeria."

ECONOMIC COLONIALISM: UNEMPLOYMENT

"In the economic aspect, one of the indicators of the process of colonialism is that our working force has one of the highest rates of unemployment in the world. It has an unemployment rate of 43% of the working force. This indicates the deepening of the economic crisis, the crisis of colonialism in Puerto Rico. Imperialist interests in Puerto Rico are very well aware that the working people of Puerto Rico are their main class enemy. So they are not fostering employment in the country – they are fostering unemployment. They have managed up until now to prevent a popular upsurge through the use of food stamps and other forms of welfare to pacify and control the population. It let's them live on the dole, but at the same time it is exercising this mechanism of control.

"In terms of our working class movement, it is very young in age and very combative. This proletarianization has been a sign for labor repression. In the last eight years, the national guard, which is just a military adjunct to the U.S. Army, and is commanded by North Americans in Puerto Rico, has been used 4 times against workers' strikes and demonstrations. The character of labor disputes is a very sharp and combative one because any economic regimentation of the working class is forcibly repressed by the colonial police and even by this adjunct of the American Army, the National Guard. The people respond to reactionary violence with revolutionary violence.

PLO – PUERTO RICAN COMMUNIQUE

After a visit to Lebanon by a delegation from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in the beginning of November a joint communique was issued. The following are excerpts:

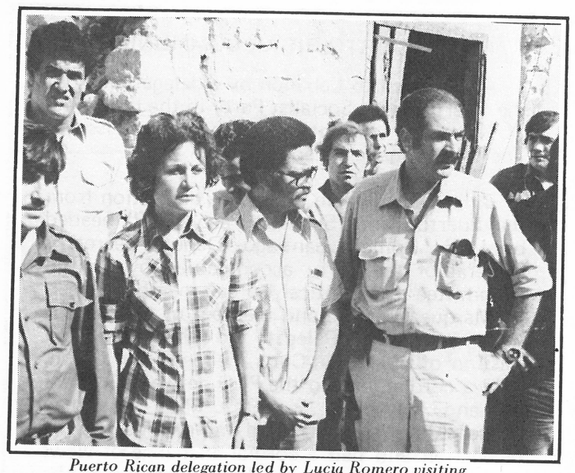
By invitation from the PLO a delegation from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), headed by Lucia Romero Santiago, Deputy Secretary General of the party, accompanied by Central Committee and Political Bureau member, Alberto Marquez Castillo and member of the Central Committee and Delegate to the Permanent Mission of the PSP in Cuba, Felipe Cirino Colon, paid a cordial visit to the PLO between October 30 and November 5, 1979. PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat met the head and members of the delegation and had a cordial exchange of views on the latest political developments in the struggle of the Palestinian and Puerto Rican people. The delegation also met with other members of the Executive Committee of the PLO in keeping with the spirit of struggle that binds both peoples and organizations.

During the comradely discussions, the PLO expressed its full support and backing for the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for independence and self-determination against the occupation and domination of their country by the U.S. The PLO also condemned American imperialist political, economic and military aggression against the Puerto Rican people and all other progressive and revolutionary forces and countries in the Carribean region and Latin America. The PSP expressed its full support for the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO for the restitution of their inalienable national rights, including the right of return and complete self-determination on their full national soil and homeland.

FORCED STERILIZATION

Q: One of the weapons U.S. imperialism has used against the Puerto Rican people has been programs for forced sterilization of women.

A: "The forced sterilization of Puerto Rican women is a form of insidious genocide. 35% of our women from ages 14 to 35 – the special child-bearing age – have been sterilized without their consent. For example, if a peasant or a working woman goes to a clinic and has some



Puerto Rican delegation led by Lucia Romero visiting Palestinian centers in South Lebanon

gynecological disorder, the colonial appointees sterilize her without her knowledge. This is not a "birth control" problem, but a political problem because the U.S. authorities and the colonial regime have resorted to a gross application of neo-Malthusian theories. They have tried to liquidate a great percentage of our future population in this way. As our great hero, Pedro Albizu Campos, has said, "The Yankees want the cage, but not the birds" — not our population. Through forced emigration and sterilization and through the immigration to Puerto Rico of reactionary refugees like the Cuban exiles and a sizeable North American colony — they are trying to do to the Puerto Rican population what the Israelis are trying to do to the Palestinian population in occupied Palestine — to substitute the national population with foreigners. Of course, these foreigners — these North Americans and Cuban exiles — don't come to our country to work as laborers or peasants, but they have positions of great economic and political wealth and station. The U.S. authorities have also tried to institute a program for the sterilization of men."

SUPPRESSION OF PUERTO RICANS IN U.S.A: SOLIDARITY OF MINORITIES

Q: What are the conditions for the Puerto Rican people in the United States?

A: "A million and a half of our population has been forced to emigrate to the United States. The coionial government and the U.S. have developed this forced emigration as a safety valve to head off a revolutionary explosion in our country. This emigration started in 1940. It was first from the countryside to the Puerto Rican cities and then to the U.S' Now a somewhat reversed trend is beginning to happen. Puerto Ricans are beginning to come back to their homeland. Our party works in the United States with our population to develop their national and class consciousness and also to fight for their democratic rights against discrimination, racism, and economic oppression. Also we work to link up with U.S. progressive forces so as to acquaint them with our fight and to develop a strategic alliance between progressive sectors of the American people and our people. In strategic terms, the presence of 1 1/2 million Puerto Rican people in some of the most important industrial and political cities in the United States is a very great headache for U.S. imperialist circles. The melting pot theory has failed in our case. Our people don't want to spend their whole lives there. They plan always to return, even if they cannot. Our culture language and traditional make-up have always been kept very strong. The combativeness of our people has been a great obstacle to the process of assimilation."

U.S. MILITARY OCCUPATION

Q: Given the direct military occupation by the U.S., what special problems do you face on the island?

A: "We are an occupied country like Palestine is an occupied country. This process of direct military occupation means that we have to fight the whole intelligence apparatus of the U.S. government and the colonial police and intelligence services. In terms of our struggle, this type of military oppression has a beneficial aspect. The Americans are not able to repress completely the progressive forces by use of their Puerto Rican puppets. They have begun to use direct North American personnel and institutions like, for example, the FBI, the Office of Naval Intelligence, and the U.S. court system in Puerto Rico. They are not sure of the total fidelity or the total loyalty of their puppets. This shows increasingly to our people in a very dramatic way, the real face of imperialism. It develops resentment which we can then explain in political terms and convert this resentment into political consciousness to fight against the invaders.

"The military presence in Puerto Rico also has its economic aspect. 13% of the total land is occupied by military installations. So the development of our agriculture cannot be furthered either by imperialist interests or by the colonial regime if the U.S. military installations in Puerto Rico are not taken out."

"Our people there have very strong ties not only with old traditional and new left and other progressive circles, but also with other oppressed minorities: the Black people, the American Indian people, the Chicano people and all other oppressed minorities."

ANTI-IMPERIALIST UPSURGE IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Q: What effect has the revolution in Nicaragua, the the upsurge of revolutionary activity in Grenada, El Salvador and Guatemala on the struggle on the island?

A: "It has had two effects. In the first place, imperialism tries to tighten its hold in Puerto Rico by military and political means which we have detailed. But in the second aspect, it shows our people that imperialism can be defeated and it develops a range of political allies off our coast which strengthens our common bonds. This process of upsurgence and the revolutionary fight has an important consequence for our fight. It has shown to the Latin American governments — of course, the Latin American people are already on our side — that Puerto Rico is a Latin American country; that we will return to the Latin American family of nations; and that it can return — it hasn't been absorbed by U.S. interests. It is fighting. No matter what military, economic and political maneuvers the U.S. tries to develop in Puerto Rico — they will be defeated."

SOLIDARITY WITH OUR PALESTINIAN BROTHERS

Q: what are the results of your visit to the Palestinian people and the PLO?

"Now after our visit, we have been able to see all aspects of the Palestinian struggle in defense of their people and all people. The Palestinian situation outside occupied Palestine and inside occupied Palestine is very complex and very difficult. We have learned a lot, not only in theory and practical terms, but also the firmness of the revolutionary institutions and the sagacity of the leadership.

"We have been able to appreciate fully the sense of identity and the political sense which every leader, cadre, regular member of the Resistance and every fighter has. The sense of urgency and the solidarity of our Palestinian brothers with our cause and other causes in Latin America has also very greatly impressed us. We know that the Palestinians are fighting a life or death battle and they could have every right in the world to be immersed in their cause and their struggle. But they take the time and their effort, not only to read about and to understand other people's struggles, but to participate and to cooperate with them. That's a very great help to all revolutionaries. The heroic posture of the Palestinian people can be compared to the heroic posture of the Vietnamese people. We think that as revolutionaries that is the highest praise that we can give to the Palestinians.

"We have seen the ways in which the enemy has mutilated women and children. We have seen the ways in which the Palestinians have cared not only for their own wounded, but for the general Lebanese population. This gives light to the Zionist propaganda that Palestinians are a group of terrorists. A people who have been able to live and develop such human sensibility under such difficult circumstances cannot be called "terrorists". They have every right to use whatever means they deem necessary and useful to fight their way back to their homeland. We certainly endorse their decision. A just solution for Palestinian rights must be the cause of all progressive and freedom - loving people."

NOVEMBER 29TH:

INTERNATIONAL PALESTINE SOLIDARITY DAY

November 29th meeting in Vienna attended by Chancellor Bruno Kreisky

On the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, designated by the U.N. General Assembly on November 29 of each year, the date of the partition of Palestine, the democratic and peace loving forces the world over held rallies and celebrations in all parts of the world to express solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their legitimate national rights under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative.

November 29 was chosen by the U.N. as the first day of the week of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, because this date marks a decisive step in the Zionist campaign to establish their state, and carry through their conspiracy against the Palestinian people and their inalienable right to statehood. The stage then was the same U.N. which is now attempting to atone for the greatest mistake it committed, a mistake of disastrous consequences for the Palestinian people.

WALDHEIM HEADS CELEBRATIONS AT U.N. HEADQUARTERS

On November 29, 1979, the UN marked the occasion with a ceremony in New York, in which United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim participated. Messages from Presidents all over the world were read. The President of the Committee for Palestinian People's Inalienable Rights, Senegalese Ambassador Médoune Fall, Dr. Kurt Waldheim and the President of the Security Council all delivered speeches.

In his speech, delivered during the ceremony, U.N. Secretary-General Dr. Kurt Waldheim said: "We are only too well aware that the situation in the Middle East vitally affects not only stability in the region, but carries a potential threat to the peace and security of the entire world." The Palestine question was the core of the Middle East problem and there could be no solution without a positive settlement of this issue. "Evidently, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) must be involved in this process," he added.

MESSAGE BY CHAIRMAN ARAFAT

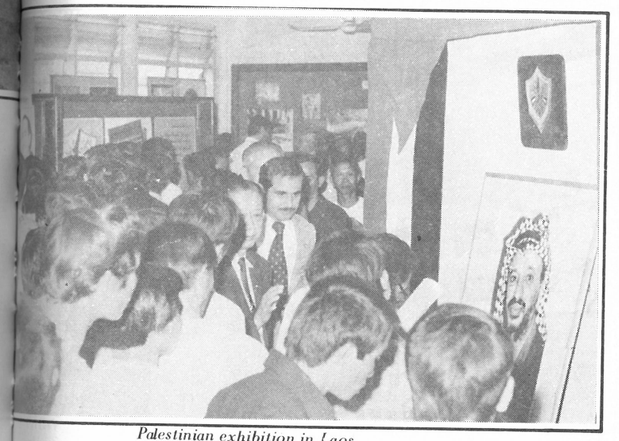
Chairman Arafat's message to the U.N. was read by PLO Executive Committee member Ahmad Sidqi al-Dajani, at the opening of the ceremony. Chairman Arafat said:

"Only the United States bears responsibility for the huge blast which overshadowed the Middle East. The U.S., despite its new and old dreams, and despite its huge fleets – especially those used now around our region – and despite its arming of Israel with the most sophisticated weapons, will not be able to dominate Middle East countries and peoples.

"The U.S., instead of realizing this new status of international relationships, follows its atrocious power as a way to ensure its vital and oil interests."

Chairman Arafat's message also underlined

Japanese solidarity gathering



Palestinian exhibition in Laos

that the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty emphasized U.S. ambitions and "unmasked the American military strategy in the Middle East" following the downfall of the Shah of Iran. Despite the death and destruction inflicted on the Palestinians by Israel and the U.S., a "huge blast" could be avoided and "peace brought to the Land of Peace", if only the national rights of the Palestinian people were fulfilled, Chairman Arafat concluded.

RALLIES IN THE ARAB WORLD

Solidarity rallies were held in many Arab countries. All Arab leaders expressed their support for the Palestinian struggle and several cables of solidarity were sent to Chairman Arafat.

ALL OVER THE WORLD: CELEBRATIONS AND SOLIDARITY ACTIVITIES

In **Addis Ababa,** the **Organisation of African Unity** reaffirmed its "support to the Palestinian people under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organisation, in their legitimate struggle against Zionism and domination." A statement published by the OAU Secretariat strongly denounced "the machinations aimed at preventing the Palestinian people from exercising their right to self-determination, to achieve their national aspiration, freedom and total sovereignty".

Afghanistan: A rally was held at Kabul University on December 1, attended by a number of Afghan officials. Numerous speeches were delivered on the occasion, all expressing solidarity with Palestinian national rights and the Palestinian struggle and denouncing the Camp David accords.

Dr. Bruno Kreisky, the Austrian Chancellor, participated in the celebrations on November 29 at the invitation of the Arab missions and the PLO office in Vienna. About 500 personalities, among them the ambassadors of several countries and the Austrian Bureau Chief for International Relations in the Austrian Socialist Party, attended the celebrations. In his speech delivered on the occasion, Dr. Kreisky stressed his sympathy and solidarity with the Palestinian people as well as with all oppressed and persecuted peoples in the world.

In **Dacca:** A rally was held in Dacca attended by the **Bangladesh** Premier. President Gen. Zia ul-Rahman sent a solidarity letter to the rally expressing the Bengali people's support for the Palestinian people.

In **Belgium:** The Belgian-Palestinian Friendship League held a press conference at its headquarters and in the presence of Dr. Fathi Arafat, head of the Palestian Red Crescent Society, on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People.

The **Bulgarian** Committe for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa sent a cable to the Palestinian Committee for Peace and Solidarity on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people. The cable expressed the Committee's total support for the Palestinian people's struggle to regain their rights, return to their homeland and establish their independent state.

In the **People's Republic of China,** a festival was held in the Chinese capital, attended by the Chinese Vice President. A photographic exhibit depicting the various activities of the Palestinian Revolution was also inaugurated.

In the **People's Republic of Congo,** a large popular rally was held in Brazaville on December 2nd, attended by the Secretary General of the

Congolese Labour Party and other leading officials, to mark the Day of Solidarity. Speakers affirmed the support of the Congolese people for the Palestinian struggle to regain their inalienable rights, and the Camp David accords were universally condemned. The Congolese Radio and Television broadcast excerpts from a speech by the Congolese President in which he expressed his support for the Palestinian people.

In **Cuba:** Cuban President Fidel Castro, as present Chairman of the **Non-Aligned Movement,** sent a cable on December to Médoune Fall, Chairman of the U.N. Committee for the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, reaffirming his support for the Palestinian struggle. The cable also affirmed that peace cannot be established in the Middle East without the exercise by the Palestinian people of their rights to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state. The cable also denounced the Camp David accords, which encourage the Israeli occupation authorities to ignore the rights of the Palestinian people.

In **Cyprus,** the Foreign Ministry issued a communique on the occasion recalling the hardships that the Palestinian people face, which are similar to those faced by the Cypriots deported from their lands. The communique expressed Cyprus' solidarity with the Palestinian people and called for a fair solution of the Middle East problem, with the participation of the PLO. All schools in Cyprus dedicated the first hours of class to discuss the Palestine question. Seminars and meetings sponsored by the Ministry of Culture were also organised. The PLO office in Nicosia received a letter addressed to Arafat from the Cypriot Socialist Party leader, as well as dozens of other cables from student and teacher unions in Cyprus.

In the **Finnish** capital Helsinki, the World Peace Council sent a cable to Chairman Arafat affirming its full support for the PLO and for the just struggle of the Palestinian people, and calling for the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories as a basis for a just peace in the region.

Budapest: The Presidium of the National Council of the **Hungarian** National Popular Front and the Hungarian Solidarity Committee issued a communique on December 1 on the occasion, confirming their absolute solidarity with the Palestinian struggle, and denouncing the treacherous deal signed at Camp David and the Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people.

In the capital of the **German Democratic Republic,** Berlin, the International Democratic Confederation of Women issued a communique on December 1 expressing its total support for the struggle of the Palestinian people. The communique also called on all Women's Confederations of the world to support the just struggle of the Palestinian people for return, self-determination, and the establishment of their own independent state. Also in Berlin, GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer received Issam Kamel Issam, PLO representative in Berlin, to mark the Day of Solidarity. Fischer reaffirmed that the GDR firmly stands with the struggle of the Palestinian people, and supports their struggle for independence and freedom.

In **India,** the government, in cooperation with the PLO office in New Delhi, held a festival at

Palestinian exhibition of children's paintings in Norway

the PLO office, where the Indian Foreign Minister declared that there can be no peace in the Middle East without an equitable solution of the Palestinian problem.

Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a communique supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO to regain their legitimate national rights, including the right of self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state.

A Seminar marking UN Palestine Day was held in **Japan** in the National Education Hall, Tokyo, on Friday, Nov. 30. The Seminar, entitled "Palestine in International Society", comprised lectures and panel discussions and was organized by the Liaison Congress for Palestine. The many guests included delegates from the Arab Ambassadors' Council, the League of Arab States, Tokyo, and the UN Information Center. Various directors and members of research centers gave speeches on the Palestine Question and International Society, International Law and the United Nations. The discussions were attended by newsmen from leading Japanese newspapers, critics and academics.

A popular rally was held on December 1 in the **North Korean** capital on this occasion. The rally was attended by Korean officials, headed by the Korean Deputy Prime Minister, and Chairman of the Committee in Solidarity with the Peoples of the World. The participants saluted the just struggle of the Palestinians under the PLO.

In Vientiane, the **Laos** Committee for Solidarity with the Asian and African peoples and the representatives of the Lao Front for National Construction, the Lao Federation of Trade Unions, the Lao Patriotic Women's Association, the Lao People's Revolutionary Youth Union, well-known personalities, state officials and more than 1,000 Vientianese held a meeting at the auditorium of the Public Health Ministry on November 29, 1979, to demonstrate their solidarity with and support for the Palestinian people's just struggle against the invasion and domination by the Israeli aggressors.

In **Madagascar,** the Foreign Minister announced his country's official participation in celebrating the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. The minister's words, broadcast on radio, denounced the Camp David Accords and stressed the necessity of the PLO's participation in all future negotiations.

In **Mauritius,** the Foreign Minister delivered a speech in Parliament, affirming that the Palestinian struggle is part of the struggle for liberation all over the world.

In **Mexico,** a celebration was held at the Fine Arts Palace. The celebration was organised by the Mexican Movement for Peace, and the Preparatory Committee of Solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people. Present at the celebration were the U.N. representative in Mexico, the head of the PLO office there, Marwan Tahbub, Arab and Foreign diplomats, and representatives of Mexican and Latin American parties, trade unions and political forces. The organisers of the celebration stressed the necessity of solidarity with the Palestinian struggle, emphasising the role of Israel against the people of Latin America, through its collaboration with the dictatorial governments of the continent.

Various solidarity rallies were held in **Norway.** The Norwegian branch of the Ghassan Kanafani Cultural Foundation, in cooperation with the PLO Unified Information and Plastic Arts Section, organized an exhibition of Palestinian children's drawing and a photo exhibition. After been shown in Oslo, the exhibit 7 was also sent to Southern Norway.

In **Pakistan,** President Zia Ul--Haq issued a message of solidarity with the Palestinian people, in which he recalled that Pakistan has always supported the Palestinian people, and affirmed that there can be no lasting peace in the Middle East which ignores the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people and excludes the PLO from peace negotiations.

In **Poland:** The Polish Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa issued a communique demanding the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the occupied territories and the halting of all Israeli acts of aggression against Lebanese territories.

In **Romania,** Nikolai Ceaucescu, General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party, sent cables to the President of the U.N. General Assembly and to U.N. Secretary General Dr. Kurt Waldheim, expressing his support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their national rights and establish their own national independent state on their land.

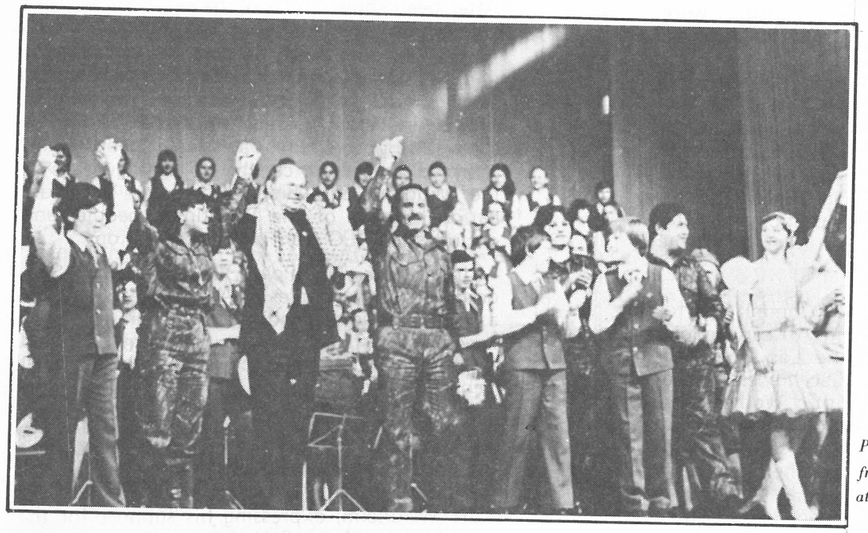
In **Senegal,** the government issued a communique in which it expressed support for the Palestinian struggle, and dedicated special radio and television programs to explain the Palestinian problem.

In the **Soviet Union,** a ceremony marking the day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People was held at the headquarters of the Central Union of Soviet Writers in Moscow, where the chief Deputy of the Soviet Minister of Culture delivered a speech, praising the PLO's role in the confrontation of imperialist conspiracies and in the struggle to regain the national rights of the Palestinian people. "Pravda" commented on the occasion and said that the struggle for peace in the Middle East is linked with the struggle for Palestinian national rights.

In **Sri Lanka,** the President affirmed that his country will continue to support the Palestinian people in their struggle to achieve their national rights.

In **Sweden** the PLO office organized a huge rally on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people. The rally was attended by the ambassadors of different countries in Stockholm. The speakers confirmed their support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people against Zionism and imperialism.

In **Switzerland,** at a meeting in Geneva attended by a number of U.N. representatives, Geneva personalities and the PLO representative in Geneva, Daoud Barakat, speakers reaffirmed the



Palestinian folk troupe from Souq al-Gharb school performs at Moscow solidarity celebration.

importance of recognising the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination, return, and the establishment of their own independent state. They also condemned the Israeli practices in violation of human rights and of U.N. resolutions concerning the Palestine problem. The speakers also affirmed that no peace is possible without a just solution of this problem. PLO representative Daoud Barakat delivered a speech exposing the Israeli practices in the occupied territories, especially the recent detention of the Nablus Mayor. Barakat denounced the Camp David treaties and called on European countries to take part in the efforts towards a just peace in the Middle East.

In other cities all over Switzerland, conferences, meetings, discussions, and films were organised on the occasion. Also, a petition signed by 44 Swiss personalities was published calling on the Swiss Government to recognise the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

In **Tanzania:** "Daily News," the official newspaper, said that Israel's expansionist policies are the cause of tension in the Middle East, and added that no real peace can be achieved without the realisation of the legitimate demands of the Palestinian people.

Turkey: In Ankara, the Turkish Foreign Minister sent a cable to the U.N., affirming that a just peace in the Middle East requires the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people including their right to establish their own independent state. The cable also denounced the Camp David accords and described them as a defiance of the will of the Arab people. The PLO office in Ankara also received official and popular delegations which came to express their support for the struggle of the Palestinian people.

Vietnam celebrated the Solidarity Day by holding a popular rally, a press conference for the PLO representative in Hanoi and sending solidarity cables. Vietnam reconfirmed its support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people, and condemned the capitualationist treaty between the Egyptian regime and Israel. At the end of the celebrations, the PLO representative in Hanoi invited the diplomatic missions and the representatives of the international bodies in Hanoi to a reception which was attended by the Vietnamese Foreign Minister.

Yugoslav President Joseph Broz Tito sent a message on November 27 to the UN Committee for the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People on the occasion of the UN-sponsored International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. In his message, Tito said that Yugoslavia is convinced that a just and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis must be based upon Israel's complete withdrawal from all territories occupied in June 1967, and on securing the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent state. Tito stressed that the recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people is a vital prerequisite for any solution to the crisis. □

Fateh Central Committee member Khaled al-Hassan addressing London seminar on Jerusalem.

DANISH SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINE

A "Palestine Week" was held at the end of November 1979 in Copenhagen.

During the week, exhibitions of photographs and Palestinian children's drawings were held and Palestinian documentary films were shown. Seminars were held to study the various phases of the development of the Palestine cause, and the Palestinian people's struggle, and numerous democratic and progressive personalities from different parties and liberation movements in the world participated in these seminars. At the end of the solidarity week, the Danish Palestine Committee confirmed its support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people in a letter sent to the PLO. Following is an excerpt of the letter;

"The Danish Palestine Committee support your struggle against suppression and towards the liberation of Palestine and the foundation of a state on any liberated land, without recognition of Israel. We support your struggle against discrimination, imprisonnment and torture of the Palestinians in Israel, against expropriation of Arab property, and we support the continuing armed struggle in Lebanon against Israeli attacks. The Danish Palestine Committee will work to spread knowledge of the Palestinian people and strengthen Danish solidarity with the Palestinian people and PLO. We will work to make Denmark join the majority of countries in the world which recognize the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people."

LONDON SEMINAR ON JERUSALEM

In a communique at the end of its sessions on December 6, the International Seminar on Jerusalem, held in London, reaffirmed that the Palestine problem lies at the heart of the conflict in the Middle East, and poses a dangerous threat to international peace and security. The communique added that the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem is illegitimate and cannot be justified by any historical or racial bases. It called on the international community to work for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish their own independent state, and for the recognition of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. The communique also condemned the Camp David treaty and described it as according legitimacy to the Israeli occupation and settlements.

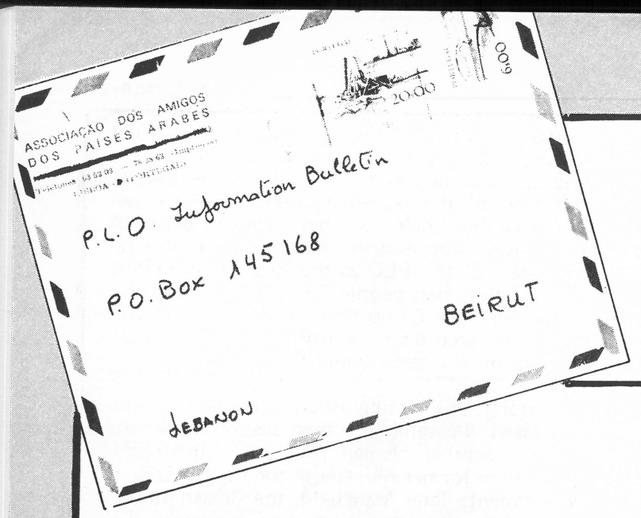
Among the distinguished personalities who addressed the seminar's final session were: the Islamic scholar Ismail Farouq; Christopher Mayhew, a former Minister in the British Labour government; Peter Mansfield, the British journalist and author; the Palestinian academic, Dr. Abdel Latif Tibawi; and the former Mayor of Jerusalem, Ruhi al Khatib. The speakers were unanimous in their condemnation of the injustices that have been visited upon the Palestinian people and of the complacent attitude of Western governments, in particular Britain, who were largely responsible for the injustices, yet continued to allow Israel to implement its oppressive policies against the Palestinian people.

ITALIAN COMMITTEE SUPPORTS PLO

In a communique issued in Rome on December 22, the Italian Committee for Solidarity and Friendship with the Palestinian People reaffirmed its complete support for the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative. The committee also expressed its admiration for the PLO's diplomatic campaign, which has increased world support for the Palestine cause. The communique added that a political solution for the Palestine problem is the central issue for the Arab cause, and a basic condition for establishing a just and permanent peace in the Middle East.

TEHERAN RALLY IN SUPPORT OF PALESTINIAN CHILDREN

The PLO participated in the International Children's Rally which was held at Teheran University on December 24, on the occasion of the International Year of the Child. The Palestinian stalls at the rally included a large number of books, posters and photographs which depicted the developments of the Palestinian struggle against the brutalities the Zionist forces have committed against the Palestinian people and their children. At the rally, a leading Teheran publishing house took a decision to translate a book about the martyrdom of Palestinian children in al-Baka'a camp in Jordan in 1968 into Farsi.



LETTERS TO "PALESTINE"

HELP FOR PALESTINIAN CHILDREN

Dear friends,

It's now the third time that I have received your PLO Information Bulletin. I hope I can subscribe to it.

It's very interesting to hear about Zionist terrorism since 1948. We only hear about Palestinian terror. But what the Palestinian people are doing, in my eyes, is no terror, it's their good right. And they have to fight for Palestine and a free Arab Jerusalem!

I hope that our people hear more about the injustices done by the Jews.

I'm only a German woman, but I am glad to say that my heart and sympathy always belongs to the Palestinian people and their problems – and my condemnation for the Zionists. And I say it freely and to everybody.

By the way may I ask you for the price of the PLO Information Bulletin?

I also would like to send every month an amount of money for Palestinian children. I would be very happy to hear from one of my Palestinian friends.

Your leader Yasser Arafat is for me a remarkable world leader, and I hope and pray he will be able to give back the Palestinian people their home Country with a free Arab Jerusalem.

Please forgive my bad English.

I hope to hear from somebody in Lebanon.

yours sincerely

Renate du Bellier
Arzberg, West Germany

WHERE IS THE JUSTICE?

Dear friends,

I write this letter to tell you that a growing number of Americans are finally discovering the legitimacy and the justness of your cause. Because of the strong sympathy for what the Jews suffered during World War II, because of the strong Jewish lobby in this country and because the Palestinians were almost always shown in this nation as blood crazy terrorists the vast majority of Americans never took time to understand what the PLO stood for and how the Palestinian people were abused and robbed of what has always been their birthright.

Only now does some of the truth come through. People are asking themselves how can we be for land for the Jews and not for land for the Palestinians? How can we allow a Jewish state and not one for the Palestinians who have lived there for thousands of years? Where is the justice in this?

Our nation was born out of a war, we have always been quick to fight for our country and defend it against those who would threaten us, so why then should we deny that right to the Palestinians? Why is Israel denying the Palestinians the same rights it asks for itself? These are questions I never heard asked by Americans before. Now I hear them quite often.

Americans hate oppression and we want all people to be free, to live in peace, to be safe and secure, and to have the opportunity to live as they wish. We want it for Israel and we want it for the Palestinians.

Though I don't agree with many of the violent things that you have done, I am now beginning to understand why you have done them. I commend you for your bravery, for your determination, and for your fighting for what you believe in. If you are determined enough, it is inevitable that you will have a country of your own. But be shrewd, there is an old proverb that says, the pen is mightier than the sword. Let the world know more about your people and your cause, especially here in the United States and in Europe. The more people that understand the situation the faster you will achieve your goal.

Richard Girolani
Oakland, U.S.A.

A SOVIET JEWISH EMIGRANT AND ISRAELI RACISM

As Soviet Jewish emigrant, I was hardly surprised when, on July 5, '79, a clerk in an Australian government department started asking me with some persistence whether they gave me "hard time" back in the Soviet Union. But I still wonder, why does an Australian public servant have a notion that the Jewish people in the Soviet Union are being given "hard time"? Must public servants have their political ideas imported from Tel Aviv? The factual data show that an average Soviet Jew enjoys more years of education and a somewhat higher standard of living than that of an average Soviet citizen. This trend well corresponds with the official U.S. statistics, according to which an average American Jew is noticeably better off than an average American.

In Australia, the Jewish community is as rich and prosperous as ever. The Jewish community's access to the governments is well above average – no doubt, it pays to finance both the ruling coalition and the ever loyal opposition. And whenever the Middle East is being touched on – the Jewish community's access to the media becomes virtually exclusive. Will this community be prepared to depart for "Eretz Israel", the self-proclaimed "homeland of all Jews"? And stay there? On the contrary – the flow of Israelis into this country is never ending. The established pattern of the Jewish immigration in Australia clearly indicates that the awaited "Jewish paradise" will rather be located somewhere in the Bellevue Hill area of Sidney than anywhere in Palestine.

Without the money earned, or otherwise derived, in the Western countries, the Zionist gig in Palestine wouldn't have ever gotten off the ground. Ironically, it is the West who still has to print billons of paper dollars more, yearly, to pay for the Zionist weaponary supplies. And again, it is the Western consumer who is made to pay for the consequences, as some food half of the difference between the current oil price and that of 1973 is a direct result of the continuous aggression in the Middle East.

If the Australian government is really interested in seeking out a place where racism and anti-semitism are rife, vicious and blatant, it needn't be looking any further than the Zionist regime of Tel Aviv, where Sephardic Jews, Soviet Jewish emigrants and Palestinian Arabs are being treated, respectively, as second – and third – rate citizens at all. Even the highly privileged minority, the middle-class Ashkenazi Jews – the backbone of the regime – even they jump at the first chance to get out of the Zionist zoo. By 1970, some 10% of them – more than 100,000 have voted with their feet. This number would have been closer to a million, if the "freedom of emigration" – along with the U.S. permanent residence visas – were as available to them as they are made to their belatedly beloved brethren emigrating from the Soviet Union.

As to the Sephardic Jews, they always lived in peace and harmony with their Arab neighbours. They have never been confined to the Ghettos or in any other way discriminated against – until they've been lured into "Eretz Israel". Both Sephardic Jews and Arabs are Semites, whereas the Semitic or Palestinian origin of Ashkenazi Jews is dubious, to say the least. And there is definitely nothing legal about the property claims made on the grounds of the alleged prior occupancy some.... 2,000 years ago. Next to that, one might well expect a bunch of enterprising Lesbians to claims sovereignty over the Greek island of Lesbos... Of course, that would be an outright pornography. But then, what is all that Zionist business really about?

In the early sixties, the Zionist lobbies crept into the foreground of the Western media with a chorus of heartbreaking wailings, reiterating endlessly "Let my people go! " – to "Eretz Israel". A decade later, the word "Israel" has been quietly liquidated from this propaganda cry, as fewer and fewer of the "Chosen People" chose to go to the "Promised Land" that promised nothing but trouble. The October War of 1973 ripped open the Zionist closets bursting with decay and corruption. More advertisements were needed now to sell their rotting wares.

These days, the lobbies of Zion are heard chanting a fresh refrain: "Let my people come, and let your people pay for my people's coming and going! "... And, for an encore, the lobbyists would turn up their palms, showing stigmas inflicted by the "savage Bolsheviks" – formerly the "Jewish Bolsheviks"! ...

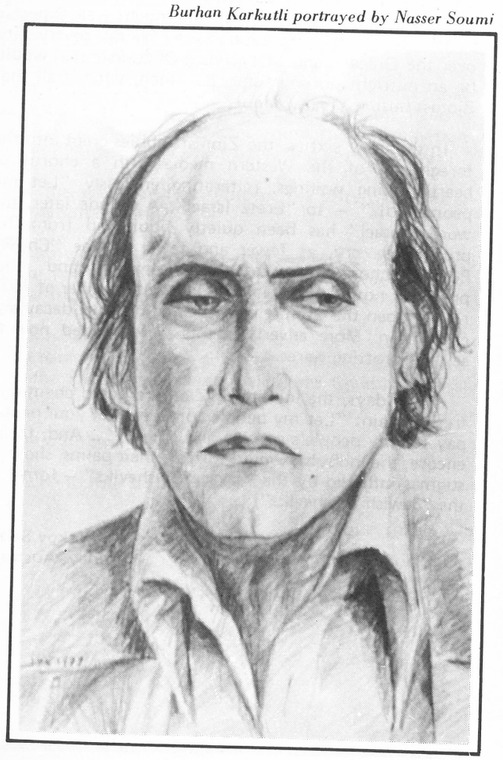
Yakov Selzer
Sydney, Australia

INTERVIEW WITH

BURHAN KARKUTLI:

THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE – ONE SOURCE OF MODERN ARAB ART

Burhan Karkutli portrayed by Nasser Soumi



(Burhan Karkutli, the Arab painter and graphic artist of Syrian origin, has become well-known for his stirring political graphics committed to the national struggle of the Palestinian people and to the resistance against Zionist aggression and terror. *"Palestine"* in autumn 1979 interviewed its friend Karkutli, who now mainly lives in West Germany.)

– What is the role of the Palestinian Resistance Movement for the development of Arab art?

As you know, the Palestinian Revolution has exerted great influence not only on Arab plastic arts, but on the entire democratic Arab culture. In recent years, democratic and progressive arts, any cultural activities, are facing difficulties in various Arab countries. In several Arab countries you can't find freedom of opinion anymore. Several Arab governments try to propagate a sort of culture, which for the outside would somewhat cultivate an "arabesque" form, but which has lost its meaning, its democratic meaning.

Democratic and progressive culture now finds the air it needs to continue breathing with, from the Palestinian Revolution, the place where it can develop further. It is not by accident that many Arab poets, writers and artists, who search for a revolutionary content but are prevented from developing it in their respective countries, are turning towards the Palestinian Resistance. They do not come to it only because they are looking for a healthy atmosphere, but also because they feel that the Palestinian Revolution is their own revolution. Its a revolution for all the Arabs.

"The Zionist aggression is targeted not only against Palestine, the land and the people. It is an aggression against all Arab countries. As an artist, for example, I sense it as an aggression against myself, against my identity, politically, physically, against my dream as an Arab for a new Arab civilisation. The Zionist aggression is a threat against and an obstacle in the way of this Arab civlization. We want to build a new Arab future and the Zionist aggression stands like a wall against this development. Thus, when I paint and draw for the Palestinian Revolution, I do it also for myself. I paint to protect myself."

– Is there a direct influence on the part of the Palestinian Resistance on the style of progressive Arab artists?

"Three main sources have influenced most

Burhan Karkutli: "I wish you a joyful wedding, happiness ornated with flowers, children as nice as princes and anyway the best of all things!" "Treat the women well" (Quran)

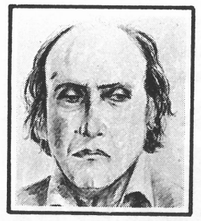
contemporary progressive and democratic Arab art: the modern realistic movement in the sixties, Palestinian art and traditional popular Arab art.

"Parallel to the upsurge of the national-democratic Arab resistance in the early sixties – in Egypt for instance at the time of Nasser, in the struggle for the nationalization of the Suez Canal etc. – you find a modern realistic movement in Arab art. The painters were searching for a new realistic style, a style which reflects the reality of the people who would take up the call for the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism alike. The search for realism was a search for aesthetic realism, too – for a new Arab aesthetic form. This new style afterwards was threatened by a crisis, due to the change in the political climate in the Arab countries.

"The danger is that Arab governments lately may accept this style only in its outward form, but emptied of political content. If there is any political content at all, they only allow propaganda for the government itself. But the revolutionary content must come from the free decision of the artist himself. The Palestinian Resistance Movement again has opened the doors for this style – has given it new strength.

"The second offspring, joining with the first source emerging from the democratic movement in various Arab countries, is Palestinian art itself. It took a realistic line from its very beginning. From its start it was after a political content. It begins tragic-dramatically at the time of the expulsion. With the emergence of armed struggle, Palestinian art starts to reflect this struggle. Various styles develop rapidly: you may find symbolistic painting, realistic plastic art, classically-oriented art. It is striking to me, that you rarely find abstract painting. I believe, the Palestinian plastic artist wants to do something concrete for his or her people – for their struggle. They do not paint just for the sake of beauty, beautiful colours and forms. They feel they must do something.

"I think that in the forthcoming years Palestinian art will serve as a guiding example for all



modern Arab art. At present, Palestinian art does not mean art made only by a Palestinian. It is made also by other Arab artists. It is Palestinian in its content, but in fact it is Arab art.

"The third source is traditional Arab art. If we look at old Arab paintings and the traditional Arab popular painting, we will find that it has always been realistic. Take the paintings of traditional popular art which used to be bought by the peasants, the small merchants and the workers in the bazaars. Those who painted these pictures, depicted the fight of the ancient Arab heroes against the bad guys. Who are these bad guys? In the pictures, the bad guys seemingly violate religious rules. But what the painters meant was: they violate the good and just values of popular life. One of the heroes in many popular paintings is for instance the ancient poet Antara who lived in pre-Islamic times. Antara, the poet, fought for truth and equality. He faced social resentment since he was Black and loved an Arab woman. Or take Ali Bin Abi Taleb and his two sons Hassan and Hussein who are up to the present day symbols in popular art. In Islam, Ali represents the fighter for social justice. After Ali was murdered, his two sons continued the struggle to the last man — martyrs for the social cause in Islam.

"You still find this popular art everywhere in the streets. It is not quite correct to call it 'naive art'. It has ingredients from the classical Arab art, and quite significantly, the script is an integral part of the art. It is a sort of coloured graphic — black lines and coloured squares — somewhat decorative. Earlier it was printed as lithography, today you find offset prints. You find this sort of painting everywhere, in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq — in the bazaars. I noticed that all over it has the same style — an Arab style. During the time of the Algerian Revolution, I saw this kind of popular painting in Morocco portraying Algerian heroes of the revolution. The prints were very cheap, one quarter of a lira or so.

"What I want to say is, that the modern political Arab art didn't fall from heaven, neither does it come from European influence. It has an old tradition, not one for the museums but one still present in the street. Maybe, we also have in our modern realistic style influences from periods of modern European art. Never mind. We are living in another time. Art has become international and we can use influences from everywhere."

— You mentioned the role of the script in Arab and Palestinian art?

"Arab script is art itself. It is part of Arab art. It is a kind of graphic. You find it also integrated into architecture. I have been studying script and I found out that Arabic script has developed since the emergence of Islam in precisely the same way as did any modern plastic art. Arabic script began in a realistic style, in a clear, strong form: When the people used to sit in the mosque to learn to grasp the meaning of the script written on the walls, see and read it easily. Later on, in the period when classical Arab civilization and Arab culture had reached their peak, and started to level out and came to a deadlock, the script begins to go abstract. You see a beautiful written form, a nice decoration, but as a matter of fact you can't read it any longer. The script picture, the script drawing — attracts the attention. The content is no longer of interest. The formula "bismillah al-rahman al-rahim" for instance, — you really need an interpreter to decipher it. But it is a nice form, "arabesque" — anyhow abstract.

"Now you can see today, that not only Arab plastic art but the script itself is searching for a new realistic form. This is particularly striking with the Palestinian resistance struggle. I noticed how the wall posters, the covers and headlines of the publications of the Palestinian Revolution try to reactivate the form of the old Arabic script since it is clear and strong. You can perceive the old lines, but at the same time they are developing it further. It is a script of our time. Thus the Palestinian Revolution has contributed to the development not only of modern Arab plastic arts but also of a new school in our script."

— Was there Arab political graphic design before the Palestinian Revolution?

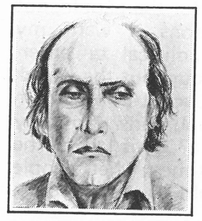
"Genuine political graphic design only existed as a small offshoot. It was the Palestinian Revolution which gave it strength and a clear direction. It is graphics for the people — for developing the political conscience of the people. Present Palestinian political graphic design is related to armed struggle, too. You may find it in the form of posters, placards, postcards, covers of books and magazines. Within a very short period, these graphics became present in various Arab countries — now also in Europe and elsewhere. That is exactly the task of political graphics: to reach the large public, not the gallery.

"Political graphics have liberated graphics from their gallery jails. If they are confined to galleries they cease to be political graphics. What is the point, if I present my graphics only in a gallery in the European way — the bourgeois-European way? Maybe, a well-off man comes, or a gourmand of art buys it. The graphic is confined to a dwelling. What is its effect, if, according to the law of the Western galleries, a graphic is printed by hand in an issue of let us say 100, then signed by hand, numerated etc.? Is it made for the sake of 100 persons possessing it? Is this enough, when 100 persons possess it?

Political graphics are graphics for the people, not only for one hundred persons. I want my graphics distributed like a political or entertaining movie which runs throughout the world. A political novel, a book, a pocket book has an edition of hundreds of thousands. So why should I numerate my graphic? This law of the gallery belongs to medieval times, when people wrote a book by hand and sold 20 to 20 people.

"When I make a graphic, I print 1,000 or 2,000 offset in the original size — good print, good paper. To me an offset print is a wonderful print. The gallery owners say that it is no 'art print'. Why? My graphics will be reproduced 100 percent. I will even sign it, if they want it. I will sell the copy for 10 or 5 DM. I earn over a longer period about the same as if I sold one "original". In the FRG many people told me, that I am destroying my reputation, I say, I am not interested in my reputation, but in my graphics and their distribution. I also have the experience that it is mainly youth, students and common people who are really ready to hang my graphics up on the walls, who do not

Burhan Karkutli: Al-Qarantina, a Beirut slum district, which was attacked on January 19, 1976. Lebanese fascist forces murdered the inhabitants and razed their huts to the ground.



consider them being too "depressing" or "hard". But they can't pay for an original. When I want them to possess my graphics, I have to accept their economic situation. My political graphics belongs to the public. I go to sell them in street bazaars, through political bookshops, I also set up sales tables at political gatherings and rallies, especially activities in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle. I participate in Christmas bazaars etc. I am not alone. I cooperate with a German artists group "Tendenzen" in Frankfurt, together with one Chilean, all critical graphic artists, from the social democratic left, from the Communist Party, independents, but all committed to a realistic style. The main thing is that we produce realistic things which can be understood by the public."

— Where do you get the special motivation for your art work?

"I am a political painter by nature. I like this. As an artist, I enjoy political expression aesthetically. It is beautiful to me, like flowers, like a beautiful woman, like a beautiful sky. Political expression is beautiful, too, since its object is the dream of human beings who long and search for a new and better life. Political struggle is the bridge towards reaching this new life. The beauty of this life is the object of the political expression. From this point of view, political form is very aesthetic to me. The expression of armed struggle is also very aesthetic to me, since it is directed and motivated by the longing for a life, where man can really feel in harmony with the whole of life surrounding him."

— How do you as an Arab artist living in the Federal Republic of Germany evaluate the trend, in Western art surrounding you?

"American influence has been very strong there during the last 30 years. Whenever a new mode emerges in the USA, it is immediately followed in West Germany. It looks as if it is planned in a way. It is like a Mafia. Television, magazines, galleries, advertising, all the media take up any American new "vogue" in the West German art business. It always lasts for one or half a year then it disappears, and the next follows. Even the public becomes tired of these waves. Abstract art is not dead but it has turned to the decorative, to material techniques, to architecture and design, to advertising.

"Today, you witness a strong new trend towards realism in art. A trend which takes up the earlier traditions of German realistic expressionism. Painters like George Grosz, Kaethe Kollwitz, Ernst Barlach and Otto Dix become heroes again and get many exhibitions and book editions. There are scores of young artists who look in this direction. However, it has not fully materialized yet. For the new realistic school, we can make use of the developments of abstract art. It is not all negative. The danger is only that you drift with the modes for the sake of business. We may use the technical, material and formal discoveries and achievements from abstract schools, and throw the rest away. We shouldn't just say, it's bourgeois art, so let us close our eyes. No, it's part of our time — of our development. It is the same as with any technique. The capitalist system is experiencing a technical revolution which is neither bad nor good. We can use the achievements. Like a gun, too: in the hands of mercenaries of imperialism it is murderous, in the hand of the revolutionary it serves the revolutionary cause.

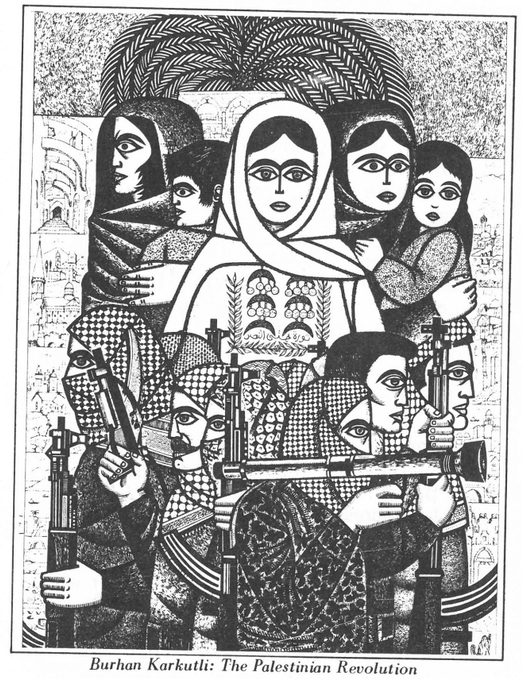
"Take me as an example, I have been working for six years as a commercial graphic artist to make my living. Often it was boring, but it has helped me a lot. I became acquainted with all sorts of commercial and advertising graphic work and the practical problems of printing. For instance, one always has to keep in mind the importance of how to reach the broad public. What would be the effect of the script, the layout etc. Of course, it has a capitalist content. The capitalist, however is not a fool — he wants his commodity to reach the largest public possible. Nowadays, while I work as a freelance painter and graphic artist, also I always take into consideration how the public will grasp my work, how I may establish the best contact in the interest of a political cause, the revolution, for a political public."

— What are the purposes and the activities of the Association of Arab Plastic Artists which was established recently in West Germany?

"Arab artists for the first time participated in a common exhibition during the Arabic Cultural Week in Tuebingen in 1974, showing pictures both from artists of various Arab countries and from different Arab artists living in Germany. Most striking was that despite the various styles you could notice one homogeneous current; you see, they all come from one culture. The visitors even couldn't believe that the painting came from painters from different countries. They all thought it was from one country. As a matter of fact, the art tells us the truth: we all belong to one culture, to one nation, divided only by colonialism.

"After the experience with this exhibition, we began to cooperate closely. In 1976, the "German-Arab Friendship Association" together with the representation of the Arab League organized an exhibition of Arab painters from the FRG in Aachen. It turned out to be a great success. Two things were of special importance in this exhibition: Palestine was represented as country in the exhibition. Secondly, political graphics which had armed struggle as its object, appeared as an integral part of modern Arab art. Other exhibitions followed in Wuerzburg and in 1978 in the capital Bonn, where 23 Arab painters participated. There we finally organized ourselves as an association. The PLO office in Bonn helped us very much in this, and the Arab League provided conference rooms. Apart from common artistic and economic interests, there were also political considerations in doing this. Zionist propaganda which is very obsessive in West Germany, still tries to make the people believe that the Arabs are a people who live in the desert, without an economic and social basis of their own and without culture. All this is nonsense. With our common exhibitions we can respond to this. Our paintings and graphics give a quicker response than is possible for instance through political publications. People immediately grasp it without much consideration.

"Due to the Sadat policy, we now have some organizational problems since a roving exhibition through major cities in West Germany and even France sponsored by the Arab League has been frozen for the time being. We face also some internal difficulties stemming from the various artistic conceptions, styles, feelings and interests. But all in all our work and experience is positive. There is one point around which we unite indeed. We all want to do something for the Palestinian cause. You must understand, every Arab is from their natural feelings in favour of Palestinian armed struggle. And we all search for an Arabic character in our plastic art, to liberate it from Western tutelage, although we



Burhan Karkutli: The Palestinian Revolution

live in West Germay. This is part of the struggle itself, since any liberation of our Arab culture also serves the aims of the Palestinian struggle."

— What are the reactions to your activities?

"Some of the visitors to our exhibitions come to see Arab art thinking of "one thousand and one nights". They are at first impression disappointed to find modern art. In disscussion we explain to them that the Arab world is not "One thousand and one nights" but part of the 20th century and has its specific problems.

In general, the public shows great sympathy. They "discover" through the exhibitions, that we are real and present countries and people, and this is positive.

"I often face difficulties with the organizers of exhibits concerning my political graphics. They want my "arabesque" works, but not the political ones. But the political graphics and my other paintings and drawings are like my two eyes. I can't root out one. Mostly they finally accept, if I tell them: If you want Arab art, o.k., in it the one belongs to the other. They are mainly afraid for their business. Sometimes it is admittedly also in fear of Zionist reprisals. However, Zionist reactions, are usually more

subtle. As an example, when we held our large exibition in Bonn, a series "Israeli Cultural Week" suddenly appeared on the broadcasting stations exactly at the same time. And a magazine with mass circulation brought out a big special report on an Israeli painter.

"When I sell my graphics in street bazaars, I sometimes encounter openly hostile reactions, too. Once a type from the neo-Nazi party (NPD) became very upset about my poster attacking Camp David, Carter, Begin and Sadat. He shouted: 'When the time is ripe, your graphic will be burnt here in the street.' I stayed calm and just mentioned to him, that this sort of procedure already happened in Hitler's time. City officials of Frankfurt also came and tried to order me to remove the Camp David poster, "else I would face problems".

"There are general tendencies towards increased repression in West Germany. In some states, particularly those governed by the CDU or CSU, progressive painters have been thrown out of the artist associations. There is also a new law which contains a paragraph restricting the freedom of culture and art. It says that every writer, painter or poet expressing sympathy for "terrorism" will be punished. This is a very vague term, what does it mean? They surely do not intend to apply it to Israeli mass aggression and state terrorism."

— How do you perceive the concept of "Israeli art"?

"Ten years ago, I visited a large Israeli art exhibition in Heidelberg. It struck me, that there was no unity in it, no united language, no common tradition. I found British, Russian, Polish influences — the French influence. All is there. Yet I can't say it is international, either. It is a stew of differing styles and influences. I found it quite significant politically. It reflects exactly the state of the Israeli society. It is a society without unity, without tradition. It was interesting to read the same impression from an observer in the local press. He noted: we see all sorts of European schools but no "Israeli" art. However he failed to point out what this meant politically.

"In contrast, I remind you of our exhibition of Arab painters and paintings from all the various Arab countries, when all the visitors believed this was an exhibition from one country. This difference between the Israeli and the Arab exhibition is of great political significance." ■

UNION OF

PALESTINIAN ARTISTS:

"ART IS A WEAPON FOR PALESTINE"

Under the slogan "Art is a weapon for Palestine", the General Union of Palestinian Artists held its first general conference on July 4-7, 1979 in Souk al-Gharb, Lebanon. The preparatory committee, formed out of the union's three branches in Lebanon, Syria and Kuwait, had at the time invited nearly 60 Palestinian artists from Arab and foreign countries. At the end of the session, a general secretariat was elected and was headed by Ismail Shamout. The union stated in its final conference statement that it was necessary to deepen the roots of revolution for the sake of achieving the goals of our people to return, to exercise self-determination and to establish an independent Palestinian state on Palestinian soil.

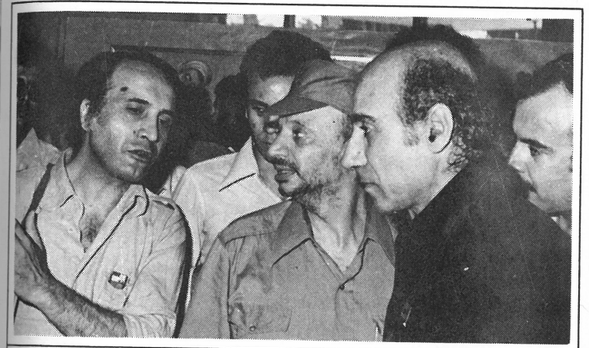
The General Secretariat held two other sessions in Beirut. One immediately followed the end of the conference and the second was held at the end of October. During these sessions, many plans were discussed, the most important of which are as follows:

— The formation of a Palestinian national plastic arts committee. For this purpose, a special resolution was passed to allow affiliation with the International Union of Arts which is tied to UNESCO. Contacts were made to achieve this goal. It is expected that the Executive Committee of the International Union of Arts will pass a resolution to accept Palestine as a member during its next session in Baghdad in the spring of 1980.

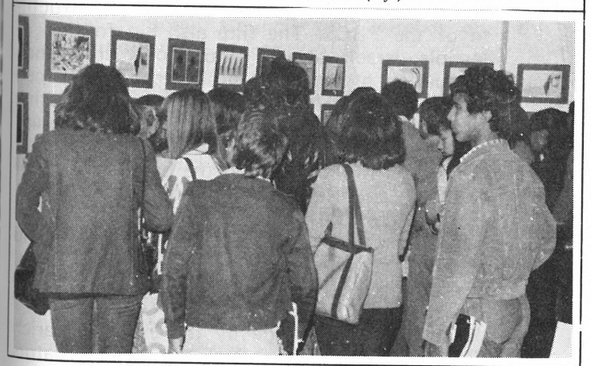
— Coordination of contacts between branches and members located all over the world and between these and the headquarters of the General Union in Beirut.

PLASTIC ART EXHIBITIONS IN LISBON AND GENEVA

The union was able during this period to put on an art exhibition in Lisbon. This exhibition included 35 paintings by Palestinian artists. Toufic Abdel-Al organized the exhibition which



Art exhibition during Palestinian Artist conference in July 1979. Chairman Arafat with Artists' Union General Secretary Ismail Shamout (right) and Burhan Karkutli (left)



Palestinian art exhibition in Geneva

was held between October 24 and November 5,1979. Nasser al-Soumi and Michael Najjar helped in organizing another part of an exhibition on the occasion of the convening of the International Conference of Solidarity with the Palestinian People in Portugal.

A plastic art exhibition was opened in Geneva on November 29, 1979 (International Palestine Solidarity Day). The exhibition included 40 paintings by 20 Palestinian artists. It remained open from November 26 until December 4 at a UN hall in Geneva. Invitations were extended from the PLO office in Geneva. The General Secretariat authorized artists Toufic Abdel-Al and Yousef Arman to organize this exhibition.

EXHIBITION IN MOSCOW

An exhibition was also presented in Moscow. 41 Palestinian artists displayed 85 paintings. The exhibition opened in the Orient Museum of Arts on November 30 and continued until January 15, 1980. The exhibition's opening marked the Week of Solidarity and Friendship with the Palestinian People in the Soviet Union. Seven Palestinian artists, Mrs. Tamam al-Akhal, Mrs. Mouna Saoudi, Ismail Shamout, Suleiman Mansour, Kamel Maghni (both from the occupied territories), Mohammed Shaer, Moustafa Hallaj and Michael Najjar particiapted in the exhibition. The exhibition was well attended and appreciated for its artistic quality. A cooperation agreement was signed between a Palestinian delegation from the General Union of Palestinian Artists and the secretariat of the Union of Artists in the Soviet Union. This agreement will make possible exchanges of exhibitions, artistic delegations, study visits, artistic information and experiences.

PREPARATIONS FOR GDR AND KUWAIT EXHIBITIONS

Preparations are being made to respond to a GDR invitation to open an exhibition which is to include nearly 120 paintings in early June 1980 to mark a month of solidarity. A number of artists will attend the inauguration of the exhibition and discuss conditions for signing an artistic agreement of cooperation with the Union of Artists in the GDR. The General Union of Palestinian Artists has already sent 43 paintings in a travelling international exhibition which will open in Berlin (GDR) under the name of "Intergraphic."

Preparations are being made to open an exhibition in Kuwait to support the artists financially. Each artist will have one or more paintings for sale. Such an exhibition will occur annually. The General Secretariat will hold its third session at the end of February. Branches of the General Union carried out their own activities, among which was the opening in Damascus on October 15, 1979 of an exhibition in the Soviet Cultural Center under the title "The Child Exhibition" to mark the International Year of the Child. The union's branch in Kuwait opened a similar exhibition on December 4, 1979.

PALESTINIAN FILMS 1979/80

The Palestinian Cinema Institution is part of the Unified Information section of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. The first major film produced in 1979 was a co-production with the Palestinian Red Crescent Society showing the latter's activities. The film depicts the Society's medical services, preventive medicine programes, mobile units, the situation in South Lebanon and vocational training centres. There is an epilogue which adequately describes the structure of the PRCS. The film also has footage of terrible Israeli attacks and shows emergency evacuation of hospitals and clinics. It happened that the film team was present two times during Israeli air raids on Damour. This documentary record is an important testimony of Zionist atrocities. The film also shows the bombardment of Nabatieh and Rashideh. It also shows the progress of the Palestinian resistance in spite of all the destruction, devastation, the hardships and pressure sustained by the Palestinian people. Everything destroyed is built up again and again.

The film was made by the Hani Jawharieh group, named after one of the main initiators and the first martyr of the Palestinian Cinema Institution. It was directed by Samir Nimer together with a German film-maker, Monica Maurer. Cameramen were Samir Nimer and Abu Zarif. The montage was done by an Italian, Mauro Contini, who also works with the Palestinian Cinema.

When the film was finished in June 1979, it was sent to the International Film Festival in Varna, Bulgaria. Because of a veto from the Americans, the West Germans and the Swiss, the film was not allowed in the competition, but was shown outside the competition and won a Bulgarian diploma.

"THE CHILDREN OF PALESTINE"

After Moscow, the Palestinian Cinema Institution shot the film "The Children of Palestine" in September, during the heavy Israeli bombardment of Southern Lebanon. The film focuses on Israeli genocidal policy. It is an outcry. The idea was to send a telex to the whole world about the situation in South Lebanon, denouncing the Zionist atrocities. It is politically more shocking than the PRCS film. It shows the destruction of schools and the bombardment of people in South Lebanon. It is a very graphic testimony of Israeli destruction to that area.

The film was done by the same group who also made the film on the Palestinian Red Crescent Society. Since the Palestinian Cinema Institution still lacks technical equipment, the mixwork on sound and video was done in an Italian state-run studio. The Italian colleagues and technical workers did an extraordinary job in finishing the film quickly, because they considered it of great political importance. Due to their attitude of solidarity, the film was finished on time. It was sent to the U.S.A. where it was shown in early November at the Convention of the Arab American University Graduates in Washington and at a conference in New York of the National Council of Churches and the Methodist Church.

The film was also shown on channel 13 television in New York City. The reactions were very contradictory. Many Zionists in the studio got upset and did not say a word. The man who allowed the film to be shown on Channel 13 was fired from his job. On the other hand, there was also a reaction of shock and rage. Many women ran out crying, because nobody had ever seen the likes of this savagery. The average people in the United States do not even know about the brutal Israeli attacks against civilians in South Lebanon because of media brain-washing. Zionists exert significant influence in important sectors of the media in the United States and there is a complete blackout of news about Zionist atrocities in South Lebanon and the occupied territories.

A Jewish film critic, who saw the film, called the next day to say that he could not sleep all night. He said that what he had seen was incredible. "It is fascism", he confirmed. Palestinian groups at universities asked for copies of the film which they are now circulating everywhere.

The film is in English with Arabic subtitles.

PRIZE AT LEIPZIG FILM FESTIVAL

At the "Internationale Dokumentar-und Kurzfilmwoche" in Leipzig, G.D.R., the film received an overwhelming reception. 800 guests from all over the world attended the official screening. It was shown to the G.D.R. public too in the city of Halle south of Leipzig. People there were also shocked and expressed great sorrow. The film was also shown several times in the G.D.R. on television, which can be also watched in the border region of West Germany.

Finally, the film got a most esteemed award, the "Special Jury Prize". Now, the film will be shown via the "Leipzig Retroperspective Programme", in Socialist and progressive states and by many progressive organizations all over the world.

In Leipzig another film of the Palestinian Cinema Institution had its premiere: "The Hymn to Freedom" which dealt with the Cuban Youth Festival in 1978.

COOPERATION WITH SAMED CINEMA

The "Samed Cinema Production" of the Palestinian Martyrs' Workshop Association is currently producing a new film, "The Olive Branch", directed by Ghaleb Shaath who earlier made the well-known film "Day of the Land"

"In this film, I intend to show the less-known human and social sides of the Palestinian people and their struggle: the Palestinian human being and the building of the nation", explained Shaath. For the future, he plans to make a feature film. "Documentary films have a limited audience while feature films are more effective and through them you can reach a greater audience", Shaath asserted. He also said that television can enter into homes and many people are not so interested in documentary films. "We can better reach them through feature films to explain everything about our cause."

"The Fifth War", a film on the Israeli invasion of south Lebanon in Spring 1978, will be the first co-production of the Palestinian Cinema Institution and the Samed Cinema Production. Another film on Palestinian kindergartens and nursery schools, directed by Khadijeh Abou Ali, is soon to be finished as co-product of the Palestinian Cinema Institution and the Palestinian Women's Union.

"PALESTINE" SHORT STORY

Hunger

BY GHARIB ASQALANI

Said wrapped his headcloth round carefully so that none of his face showed except two eyes in which anxiety and anger moved restlessly. He sighed bitterly and gritted his teeth so as not to breathe his sharp sighs into the face of his wife who was standing in front of him, imploring him to get moving. He had been trying for the whole of the past week to set out before the break of dawn like the others, but at the last minute he would kick the door of the house angrily, throw down the food package which his wife had prepared for him, lock the door, and go back to bed, not waking up until the red noon, as his wife called it. She did not realise that he was writhing over a red fire which was burning up his limbs cell by cell. But today there was no alternative but to set out. He had resisted strongly, hoping to find a way out, but hunger gnawed at him. He had sold what was left of his wife's jewellry, and his few possessions passed into other people's hands in exchange for a few pounds. But hunger disappeared only for a few days, after which his children's cries resounded, coursing through his veins. So he set off like a madman, roaming through the callous city looking for work. The city was too occupied with its business to worry about him, and workers were more plentiful than the worries in his heart. His feet tramped from shop to shop and he swallowed his failure, repeating the same old answer to the same old question:

"What work can you do? "

"I don't know any specific profession, but..."

Their scornful gaze would pierce him, and he would be unable to continue talking since their tight lips would stop him:

"Sorry... We have no job to suit you."

"Any job, gentlemen..."

"Our wages are too low to be enough for you."

"Even the lowest would be enough for me."

The gentlemen would remain silent, and he would know there was no hope of a job, but despite that he would keep on walking, receiving the reply:

"We have no job.",

Some of them would speak to him meanly, with a posture of concern for his welfare:

"Why don't you work inside...? "

Some would scornfully make fun of him, if there was an opportunity for joking:

"What's your profession, young man? "

My profession is something you cannot do. Ah, if only you knew what my profession is! I have practised it to the marrow of my bones, you cowards. I have left its results behind black walls... And he would vanish... vanish far away behind the walls.

"You've left them there to make the future. And here you are, going out into the sunlight with hunger tyrannising you and the world scornfully turning its back on you. Ah, if only your comrades knew, all the things you studied there precisely, when you specified the urgent and long-term tasks, drawing up the programme comprehensively, making it a basic task to boycott jobs *inside*, Other matters were marginal and it did not occur to you to dwell on them for long..." How his family could earn a loaf of bread in the sunlight had not worried him, and he gesticulated angrily when provoked by an idea which made the springs of fury and sorrow well up again... Meals, however miserable, had come regularly behind the walls, so that they were no longer noticed with the repetitiveness of the days. The study circles and discussions had been held regularly, with the heated debate growing louder and louder, drowning out the children's cries and the distress of a wife and a mother outside. The beautiful tomorrow was stronger than all the loaves of bread..." And today you come out into the sunlight waiting... And before the beautiful day must come a lean day when bare necessities must suffice, without extravagance. The law of the lean day requires that... So you can keep your children smiling, the children's smiles are always an urgent task. And your beautiful city winks whenever she sees you, while others flock to her and satiate her with kisses, embraces, hypocrisy and money. The remainder of your steps along every road are gunpowder, shrapnel and shells, and your first steps today are striving to find bread, consoled by hating your splendid city's lovers and recording in an overworked memory the days of whoredom and the kisses of the captivating seducer. And here you are, wrapping your headcloth around your face afraid that people will see you. Whatever happens, it's a simple matter. The queue of workers will have one more man in it today, and you'll be assigned work in a factory or a brothel. It makes no difference. It'll be money made of all the dirt of the world, to quiet the children's cries. And the tears frozen in your bereaved wife's eyes will

Drawings by Radhwan Husni

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flow. The workers' queue will be longer today, and good morning, father of the children."

His eyelids blinked rapidly at his wife's agitated voice.

"Put your trust in God, Said. You're not the first man or the last." He patted her shoulder with a surprising calmness, and kissed her sad eyes.

"I'll go today, my dearest. I'm not..."

And he went out hurriedly so she would not be wetted by a tear which rolled down his taut cheek.

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The car dropped him off at Majdal-circle, and he joined the crowd of workers waiting, hiding his emotions. He started noting the wide variety of types and ages of the men, and felt a desire to measure the degree of sleepiness still clinging to them at that hour, so as to discover how much they needed rest. He felt disapproval at the laughter of some boys, but suddenly drew back in alarm when it became painfully clear to him that anxiety and misery dwelt in the very depths of their being, as he saw them rushing hurriedly towards a Peugeot which started to slow down near them, and heard several voices calling out, "Shlomo! Shlomo! "

He was engrossed in the scene. He turned round and his eyes fell on a skinny old man standing near him. He looked at the man, and the latter plucked up courage to ask him:

"Why don't you rush over like the others? " Then he went on consolingly, "Maybe you'll have luck with Shlomo."

"Who's Shlomo? "

"A building contractor. He chooses the strong ones to carry stones and sacks of cement."

Said realised that the muscles of his strong body were suitable for such work, so he had no desire to prolong the conversation. "Everything's a matter of luck," he said curtly.

The man slapped him confidently. "Struggle, my man, and I'll struggle with you."

A volcano welled up inside him. Was struggling like this? How wretched a man is when he becomes a slave at the Majdal-corner. He watched the stream of men encircling the man who was getting out of the car and whose lips were doing their exercise around the mouthpiece of a large pipe. The man began inspecting them through the serpentine veils of smoke which spread grey clouds that descended onto the defeated faces, and against whose edges the warm rays of the morning were breaking.

While the contractor's eyes were scanning the faces, their gaze met for a very brief instant, Said felt a shudder of challenge, vague in form, which he expressed by opening his eyes wide and gazing into nothingness, so that he did not notice the contractor's signal to him and to some young men who immediately ran towards the car.

He became aware of the skinny worker nudging him reprovingly.

"Hurry. What's up with you, you're not in this world."

"What did you say? "

"The foreign gentleman pointed to you."

He looked incredulous, and the old man urged him on, warning him sympathetically, "Go on, boy. You may not find another job today."

He ran over and piled himself into the back of the car. He found himself wedged in among men and objects and felt claustrophobic. He freed his head from the headcloth, and was overcome by the desire to smoke. He started seeing things through rings of smoke rising up from lighted cigarettes, unaware of the men around him, averting his gaze from them, as the car went on its way towards the place of work – he did not know where it was or when he would arrive there.

The car came to a building site and started slowing down until it stopped near the skeleton of a building.

The workers jumped out of the car and some of them began unloading the tools and putting them on the ground, while Said's eyes looked up at the building. It was a geometrical network of bare cement columns from which the wooden frames had recently been stripped away. He imagined himself participating in clothing this skeleton with walls and other necessities of life, so that its construction would be completed as apartments and offices to absorb a new flood of immigrants from across the seas. He would clothe this building so that when it was completed he would become a skeleton blown away by the winds. There was no choice. One of them would remain a skeleton and there was no choice... the building had to be completed, it had to be completed.

"The man in charge," one of the workers said, pointing at a man who was coming towards them. When he came up to them, he began assigning each one to his work. The man in charge pointed at him.

"What's your name? "

"Said."

"You, Said, will work with Abu Mahmoud on the second floor."

The man in charge pointed at one of the entrances to the building, so Said went there without asking. The clothing of the building required that he go to this Abu Mahmoud.

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"Peace be with you, Abu Mahmoud."

The joints of the man suspended on the scaffolding trembled and the trowel fell from his hand. Said bent down and picked it up for him, and from the depths of the surprise encounter, a picture of Abu Mahmoud rose up in his imagination. A wave of panic overcame him, and shook him so that the trowel almost fell from his upstretched hand. But he controlled himself and his fingers gripped the handle of the trowel. Is this what you're like, Abu Mahmoud? Silently he cursed that grim day and the surprises it contained. "Today I'm standing with you, Abu Mahmoud, so we may clothe the bones of the skeleton." The wave of fear was visible in front of him in the eyes of the man on the day when he had torn up this man's work permit and thrown it carelessly at his face. He had not waited that day to hear his stammered, agitated words, nor had he felt the wave of despair which swept over the wretched man. He had not imagined that day that the agony in the eyes of his children was stronger than his work permit and the handle of the trowel, and even stronger than the bare cement columns. There was no choice. He shook violently, expelling the flow of memories and returned to his moment.

"God give you strength, Uncle Abu Mahmoud."

The man stammered his reply in a weak, fearful voice: "God strengthen you. How are you, Said? "

"Fine, thank God. I'm at your service." Said smiled, so that the man would give up his reservations. "The boss has sent me to you. My work's with your today."

"Alright, my boy."

"Alright, Abu Mahmoud." He said it sincerely, and calmness crept into the man, as Said continued: "What work can I do with you? "

Abu Mahmoud smiled unbelievingly. Said was working today on construction! His tools were brick moulds and mixing buckets. He was not at ease within himself, so he turned to the young man seriously:

"You can either mix the cement and bring it here, or you can pass me the brick moulds."

Suddenly a bucket filled with wet mixed cement rose up between them, raised by the trembling hand of a man in his forties whose weight in flesh and bones was not much more than 40 kilograms. Said could not believe that this human skeleton could even move, but he was shamed by the excited veins groaning under the burdens and silently making their challenge.

Abu Mahmoud took the bucket, and called out to the man: "Ezra... You've got Said with you today. Share the work with him."

Ezra extended his hand to shake Said's hand, as Abu Mahmoud smilingly replied to the question which was plain in Said's eyes.

"Don't be surprised. This Yemeni speaks Arabic better than you do. Just don't let him get the better of you in the work."

The Yemeni laughed happily, winking at Said: "Abu Mahmoud's the best foreman in

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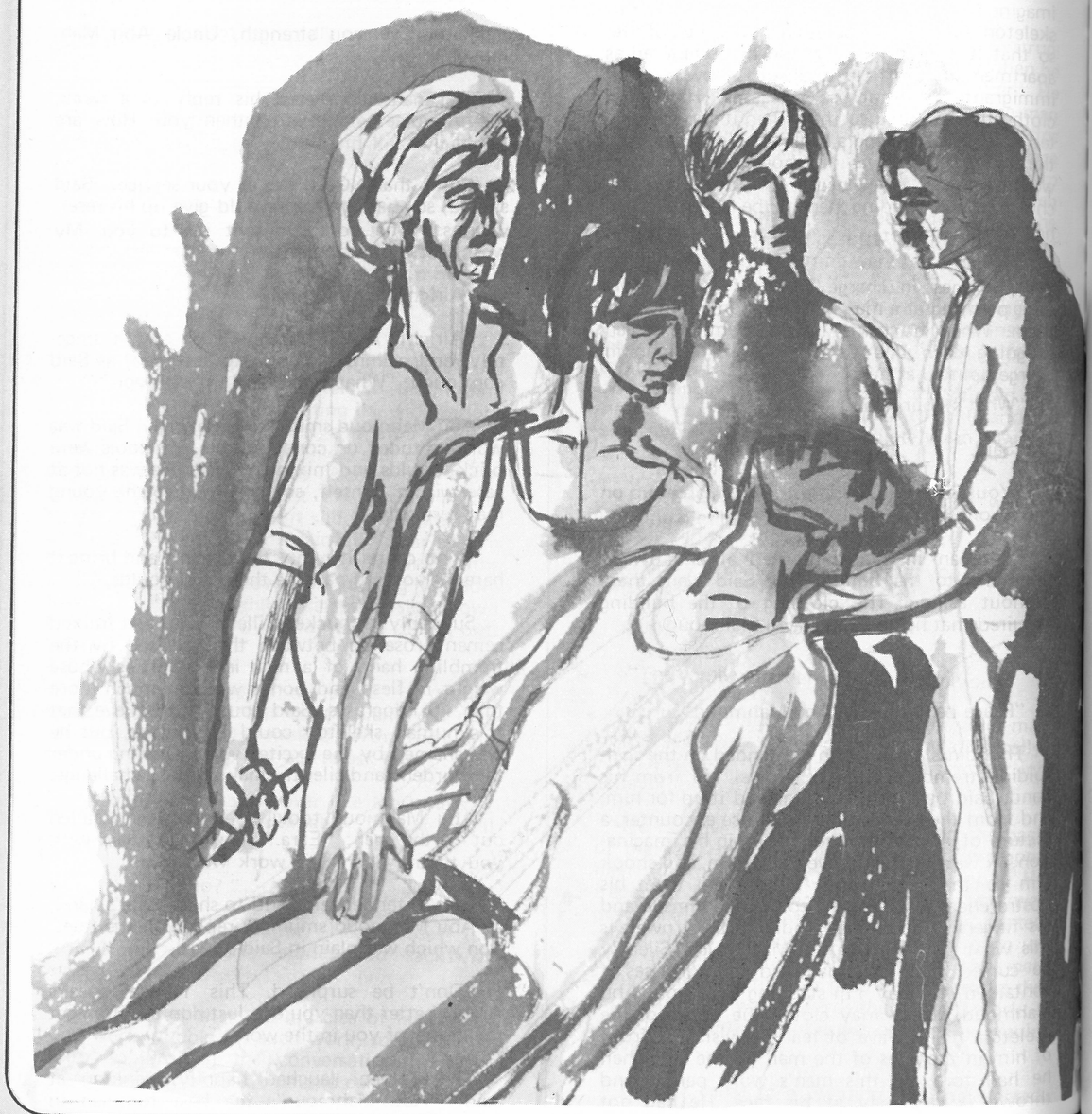

construction. This is a man of gold." He sprinted down the stairs, with Said following him, beginning his first day of work, while Abu Mahmoud watched them both affectionately.

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It was an autumn morning. The wind crept into people's bones in a hideous fashion which showed in the wrinkles of their faces and the pursing of their eyes, Abu Mahmoud was hanging from his scaffolding on the fifth floor fixing somebody else's wall, while the poor Yemeni, who had left his flock of goats on the outskirts of Sanaa and lost their rich milk and his beloved chews of *qat* to come and play around with cement mixtures was groaning under the weight of buckets, going up and down. You are like a machine, taking stones and watching them rise as walls while Abu Mahmoud's skill does not allow you to stop for a moment, and every moment that the building rises, he rises with it. The plains of Majdal stretch out beneath you, a green carpet forbidden to you. You wish you could doze in the shade of a tree beside a well built from its own water, at the edge of which your mother has vowed to wash the wound of your circumcision, so that you could remain rejuvenated like the water of the well... But where are your vain hopes? You want to restore the footsteps of your childhood around the well? Work is from morning to the end of the day, and the end of the day, a decline which includes you and hopes dwindle as the day sleeps on its mattress, readying itself for another day. The mattress embraces you as wreckage which does not become stronger with the provocations of your wife who quarrels with you and wriggles up to you and even dares to provoke you when you pretend to be asleep. Your force which has been killed may betray you, and the woman is a body which is cunning and a smell of lust which stings your nostrils, and despite this you pretend to sleep until you no longer please your wife. And the children's cries are stronger than the desires of the body. But usually you disbelieve in this and embrace her with all the manliness left in you... And then you go back to work. And every day which you pass by the well and the sycamores by the road, and every longing that comes over you for your mother if you could become a child again and climb a tree and fill your stomach with its unripe fruit, and today, if you climb a tree, you are led off to the nearest police station on a charge of making love with a blessed tree and polluting its healing milk... And poor Ezra's fingernails have been torn from scratching too much at the sycamore tree trying to get its milk which might cure his baby girl of the boils on her face after the doctors' remedies failed and were in vain and the poor child collapsed before her accursed illness and Ezra collapsed in his search for a cure so that the money in his pockets dried up but the pus of the boils in the body of his only child did not dry up. He made strong appeals for help: the child had to go into hospital, and he had to look for another Shlomo and another job, and the vegetable market at night was another world, so Ezra was divided between night and day. The night took him away as a carrier of crates of vegetables and the day embraced him as a carrier of buckets of cement mixture, and his pockets were always empty. The hospital was a drain, the little girl was crying and Ezra was crying. He cursed the unfaithful day and the foam danced on his lips, raining down curses on the sycamore tree. It was a cold autumn morning, Abu Mahmoud was a good man, his hands were clean and he would earn his livelihood lawfully... "The walls are rising up in front of him, the bones of the building are being clothed and I can scarcely catch my breath as I hand him stone after stone. And your veins, Ezra, can hardly relax before they tighten again under the weight of the bucket, so that the good man Abu Mahmoud doesn't stop, Ezra. The best foreman in the building, a man of gold. Energy drains away, and the eyes of the man in charge know how we work by the contractions of your veins and the scratches on your hands scarred by the sharp teeth of the stones. Majdal is oblivious of us, the vegetable market is thronged with people and vendors. The sycamore tree is blessed, it bears seven wombs each year, and before the beautiful day must come a lean day, and... and..."

He became aware that Abu Mahmoud had suddenly jumped down from the scaffold and was shouting, "There's no strength except in Almighty God! The Yemeni, Said..."

"What's up with him? What's happened? "

"He's fallen down, he's fallen down, boy. There's no god but God."

Said jumped up and ran behind Abu Mahmoud, not knowing how he had fallen down or where, but he felt that a disaster had occurred. Abu Mahmoud's words had been anxious and sorrowful. They rushed towards the man who was lying crumpled on a pile of cement, his face buried in the wet mixture.

They carried him and laid him on his back in the shade of the wall away from the draught of

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the wind. His hands were spread out on the ground, their muscles flaccid and the dark blue veins appeared twisted, like dead earthworms, while the bubbles of foam mingled with the yellow mucuous from his nostrils, spreading on his temples and bearing with them black cement grains which had covered his face when he tumbled into the pile of cement mixture. He was breathing with difficulty, the bones of his chest trembling with a feebleness that showed itself in the lines of his eyes suspended in space. Abu Mahmoud began bending his rigid legs and separating them, while Said busied himself with massaging his chest gently, listening for the beating of his exhausted heart.

Ezra's limbs twitched like a slaughtered animal, and Abu Mahmoud sighed deeply and said in a trembling voice, "God be praised! God be praised! Oh Lord! "

He stood up and circled round the man muttering disjointed phrases as if he were addressing somebody coming from the deepest unknown: "There's no god but God. The fate of your family, Ezra, and your poor little girl. Glory to the Almighty! He makes bones live when they are already decayed." Said wiped away the streaks of foam and mucous sticking to Ezra's temples. The latter's eyes followed the movements of his hand, and his lips began to tremble, but his voice was not strong enough to come out. Said patted his forehead encouragingly and reassuringly, and Ezra gave way to silent weeping, the tears flowing thick and fast down his cheeks. Said tried to calm his fear, but stopped in bewilderment. His joints went limp and his mind wandered, staring, through a flow of tears, far away... behind the black walls. There was no difference... no difference. Ezra today, and Salih yesterday. Salih of Beersheba, the dark walls, the sacks of cement, the stones and the prisoners in Beersheba building more prison rooms for more comrades; as the summer winds scorched their faces, arousing the sweat from the depth of their cells so that it precipitated as a lime-filled salt on their lips as they waited to rest. And Salih, with his frail body, staggered under the weight of the stones he was carrying up to the second floor, squeezing a mocking smile from his lips to overcome his physical weakness, until the smile was no longer able to soften the bitterness of the salt precipitated on his lips. He fell to the ground, and the stones slipped from his hands onto his chest. From within him, the white foam bubbled up, to be scattered far by the desert winds. Today, the cold autumn winds froze the foam on Ezra's temples. The comrades dropped what they were carrying and hovered round your body laid out on the ground, Salih, making violent movements, growling, their veins stirred up with anger. There was shouting and nervous soldiers with truncheons and rifle butts, but in vain. Salih gave a mocking smile which the desert winds bore off tenderly. And there was a strike as Salih lay sick, a hunger strike until Salih received the necessary medical care, and the will of the young men was in their declarations and firm steps. And today Salih was lying stretched out in Ezra's eyes, and the comrades were shedding tears. Rise Ezra, you are the strongest, rise! He hugged Ezra tenderly, but a strong hand slapped him from behind and made him bite the dust. Said looked around him. Shlomo was staring at him hatefully, waving his fist and shouting, "Get to work, you ass! "

Abu Mahmoud jumped up between them to explain the situation:

"Ezra fell down, Sir. We came down to help him." And he added, to set matters right: "The work's going fine."

"The work's lousy. You're all lousy."

Said jumped up and rushed towards Shlomo, overwhelmed by a desire to kill him, but Abu Mahmoud grabbed him forcefully and began pulling him towards him pleadingly.

"Calm down, Said. We're not like him, boy."

Said began agitating with his arms and legs, trying to escape from the grip of Abu Mahmoud who was making desperate efforts to keep him away from the contractor, swallowing his anger in his entreaties.

"We're not like him, He's a coward, a pimp, a big ponce. Money's everything to him. He can't buy everyone with money."

Ezra crawled over until he reached Said and got up leaning against his leg, but quickly fell back on the ground gasping.

"Calm down, Said. Please, it's all my fault. Calm down, Said."

Shlomo sensed the awkwardness of the situation, and began to retreat. His apprehensive gaze did not leave Said until he reached his car. He jumped in behind the steering wheel, and shouted angrily, "Abu Mahmoud, you're fired."

Abu Mahmoud spat. "Fired, fired. Damn your father and your work. Get out of our sight."

Shlomo started the engine of the car and spat gloatingly, pointing towards Said and Ezra: "And the asses are also fired."

Said slipped away from Abu Mahmoud's grip and rushed towards him like an artillery shell. But the car sped away, leaving behind a cloud of smoke and thick dust which enveloped three ghosts and a sound of violent coughing.

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Palestine

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ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN "NORMALIZATION"...

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